THE STAINED GLASS OF SAINT-PÈRE DE CHARTRES

Meredith Parsons Lillich

1969

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the
Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University

ABSTRACT

THE STAINED GLASS OF SAINT-PÈRE DE CHARTRES

Meredith Parsons Lillich

This monograph studies the stained glass of the former abbey-church of Saint-Père in Chartres (Eure-et-Loir), France. The remaining windows occupy the clerestory (with fragmentary grisaille in the choir triforium), and date c. 1240-c. 1315.

The first chapter explores documentation of the abbey and its building programs, with particular attention to the 12-14th centuries. The stained glass is traced in documentation from creation through periods of damage and restoration to the present.

Chapters II-IV present a stylistic analysis with the goals of isolating and dating campaigns and styles. The groups (choir, hemicycle and nave) represent different periods and provide different data for investigation: the choir (architecture c. 1270?) contains re-used panels dating c. 1240, with tracery lights and other additions dating c. 1270 (including two bays too narrow to accommodate the re-used panels). The original location of the re-used glass is presumed to be the nave, an unprovable hypothesis. Several

aspects of the choir glass are noteworthy: the large figures (c.1240) have medallion frames rather than canopies; and strips of colored glass alternate vertically with grisailles, producing a totally unique "shutter" design.

The hemicycle contains standing canopied saints (c.1290-1300). The windows are superior artistic products, basically the work of a single master designer.

The nave (architecture before 1240) contains 12 windows (c.1300-15), 6 being colored narrative cycles in canopied rows. The other 6, alternating with the narratives, contain standing saints framed vertically in grisaille, a design based on the choir. These immense windows (vast doublets of which each lancet is divided by irons into 3 vertical sections) offer a stylistic polyglot. Presumably designed rapidly for various donors, they were produced by artists varying considerably in style and talent.

The stylistic study concludes with an attempted definition of the western school of stained glass, a French school previously unstudied, of which the various campaigns at Saint-Père form important exemplars.

The final chapters investigate the windows' iconography. Questions of interest are immediate (and ultimate) sources, both textual and visual, references to donations, and possible regional variants. The choir contains Old Testament patriarchs, presumably retained at random from a hypothesized larger group of which they originally had formed a part. The hemicycle contains apostles and saints (bishops, abbots and popes) flanking an axial bay containing the Virgin and Child, Crucifixion, and Saints Gilduin and Louis. Derived ultimately from rémois sources, this program had appeared in the west (Le Mans) previous to its use at Saint-Père. St. Gilduin, buried at Saint-Père, attracted a cult which provided building funds for the church; the St. Louis, possibly one of the earliest images after his canonization, may indicate royal patronage. In the tracery is an unusual cycle of saints' martyrdoms.

The nave contains interleaved narratives and standing saints. On the north are apostles and Gospel cycles (Passion, Sts. Peter and John the Baptist). The south has subjects from church history: one bay each of sainted popes, bishops and abbots, and narratives of virgins (Agnes, Catherine), martyrs (Clement, Denis) and the Virgin (=Ecclesia). Themes are related not only to conjoining bays but across the nave, thus the Infancy confronts the Passion, and St. Peter (the abbey's patron) faces Sts. Clement and Denis (in direct spiritual lineage from Christ to the patron of the French royal house).

Considering the span of time involved, the complex program is carried out with surprising homogeneity.

For Jean Lafond

ii
(put
page
number
at bottom
of page

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

iii — PREFACE iii

Chapter

1 — I. HISTORY AND DOCUMENTATION 1

49 — II. CHOIR: STYLE 49

100 — III. HEMICYCLE: STYLE 100

115 — IV. NAVE: STYLE 115

144 — V. THE WESTERN SCHOOL OF STAINED GLASS 144

205 — VI. ICONOGRAPHY--INTRODUCTION 205

220 — VII. CHOIR: ICONOGRAPHY 220

227 — VIII. HEMICYCLE: LANCETS--ICONOGRAPHY 227

255 IX. HEMICYCLE: TRACERY MEDALLIONS--ICONOGRAPHY . 255

290 — X. NAVE: STANDING FIGURES--ICONOGRAPHY 290

312 — XI. NAVE: NARRATIVE WINDOWS--ICONOGRAPHY 312

314 — A. Bay 19 (South) 314

337 — B. Bay 23 337

360 — C. Bay 27 360

372 — D. Bay 18 (North) 372

399 — E. Bay 22 399

431 — F. Bay 26 431

446 — CONCLUSION 446

457 — BIBLIOGRAPHY 457

PLATES 467

467 -
Plates

iii
at bottom of page

Preface

After Chartres, what? After the windows of Chartres, and of Bourges, Sens, and Notre-Dame--the beautiful color-saturated glass of the years around 1200, an aesthetic culminating in a final burst of glory at the Sainte-Chapelle--what took place? This question has preoccupied scholars during the last half-century, for, from its appearance in the mid-twelfth century the activity of the stained glass workshops of gothic France was scarcely interrupted for a span of two hundred years. Through troubled times, the Angevin struggle, the Tunisian crusade, the Flemish wars of Philippe-le-Bel, the manufacture of the _vitrearum novarum praeclara varietas_ beloved by Abbot Suger was suspended only by the plague of 1348. Indeed, after a quarter-century hiatus, beautiful windows again were produced in quantity before 1400. It is the pre-plague period which concerns us here, however. The landscape is dominated, perhaps unfairly, by such towering achievements as Chartres and the Sainte-Chapelle. Once scholars began to sense the inadequacy of the first theories of development and decadence based almost exclusively on these monuments, some interesting regional research has begun to emerge. Lafond has thoroughly charted his native Normandy for us, Jane Hayward has investigated early Angevin work, Grodecki's writings have touched here, there, and everywhere. Work is now underway and will continue for many years on little-publicized regional schools for the twenty-six French volumes of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi.

I would like to contribute to these scholarly projects the barest outline of a school of glasspainting heretofore vaguely suggested by Grodecki, a "school of the West."[1] This school was active for perhaps a century (ca. 1225-1325) in an area generally southwest of Paris. Its major remaining monument is Saint-Père de Chartres. The stained glass of the abbey church of Saint-Père, which has not heretofore been critically examined, will be the subject of the body of this dissertation. In a final chapter the silhouette of the Western School will be briefly sketched, relating Saint-Père in more detail to other recognizable monuments of the school. Most of the other ensembles in the group are ripe for research. Evron is an unknown at the present time; Sées was barely mapped in a brilliant exploratory essay by Lafond; the documentation of Vendôme cries out for re-examination; Le Mans was published in the 1860's; the basic works on Tours, not so difficult a puzzle as most of the other monuments, were products of interested amateurs and are incomplete and largely descriptive. The voids in criticism in other provincial schools are also in need of filling. Burgundy is the example which leaps to mind. There also is no work of detail and substance on the north of France, in the thirteenth century, and nothing up-to-date on the Lyonnais. It is to be hoped that this monograph on Saint-Père and the brief sketch of western achievements will aid in the eventual illumination of a period of stained glass rich and varied beyond expectation.

---

[1] Grodecki's phrase is not to be confused with the 12th c. school of Aquitaine (Anjou-Poitou) first proposed by Lucien Magne, Décor du verre (Paris, 1913), p. 122ff.

What is the particular importance of the stained glass ensemble of Saint-Père? Why should it be the subject of monographic study? Justification for such reserach is not difficult to provide. The clerestory windows of Saint-Père comprise an ensemble, a full set--in itself something rare. Not a single window is missing without trace. Beyond this intrinsic rarity, such a set provides a unique opportunity for study of the principles of design and arrangement of a total glazing from a period from which very few such opportunities remain to us. Moreover the relatively short glazing campaign gives the principles more validity.

Not only is the Saint-Père ensemble interesting in itself; it also represents a pivotal period in the history of glassmaking as well as the best work of a regional school hitherto unexplored. The period of the last quarter of the thirteenth century was a turbulent one in the development of the stained glass medium. Problems of design, of color, even of the actual manufacture of glass, were reworked during the decades in question, the ultimate solutions of which stood as standard formulae for window making for the next century and more. "Rien ne ressemble moins à un vitrail du XIIIe siècle qu'un vitrail du XIVe," says Emile Mâle.[1] When such a turning-point occurs in an art form the moment of transition always bears examination. What formulae were tested and discarded? Why did a particular color harmony win popularity while others fell into disuse? Were economic pressures or the discovery of new technical methods, such as silver stain, the overriding instigators of change or did they merely intensify a tendency already present? The vast series of windows at Saint -Père is bursting with answers to such queries.

The only solid work specifically dealing with the transitional period is Jean-Jacques Gruber's pioneer essay "Quelques aspects de l'art et de la technique du vitrail en France (Dernier tiers du XIIIe siècle, premier tiers du XIVE)."[2]

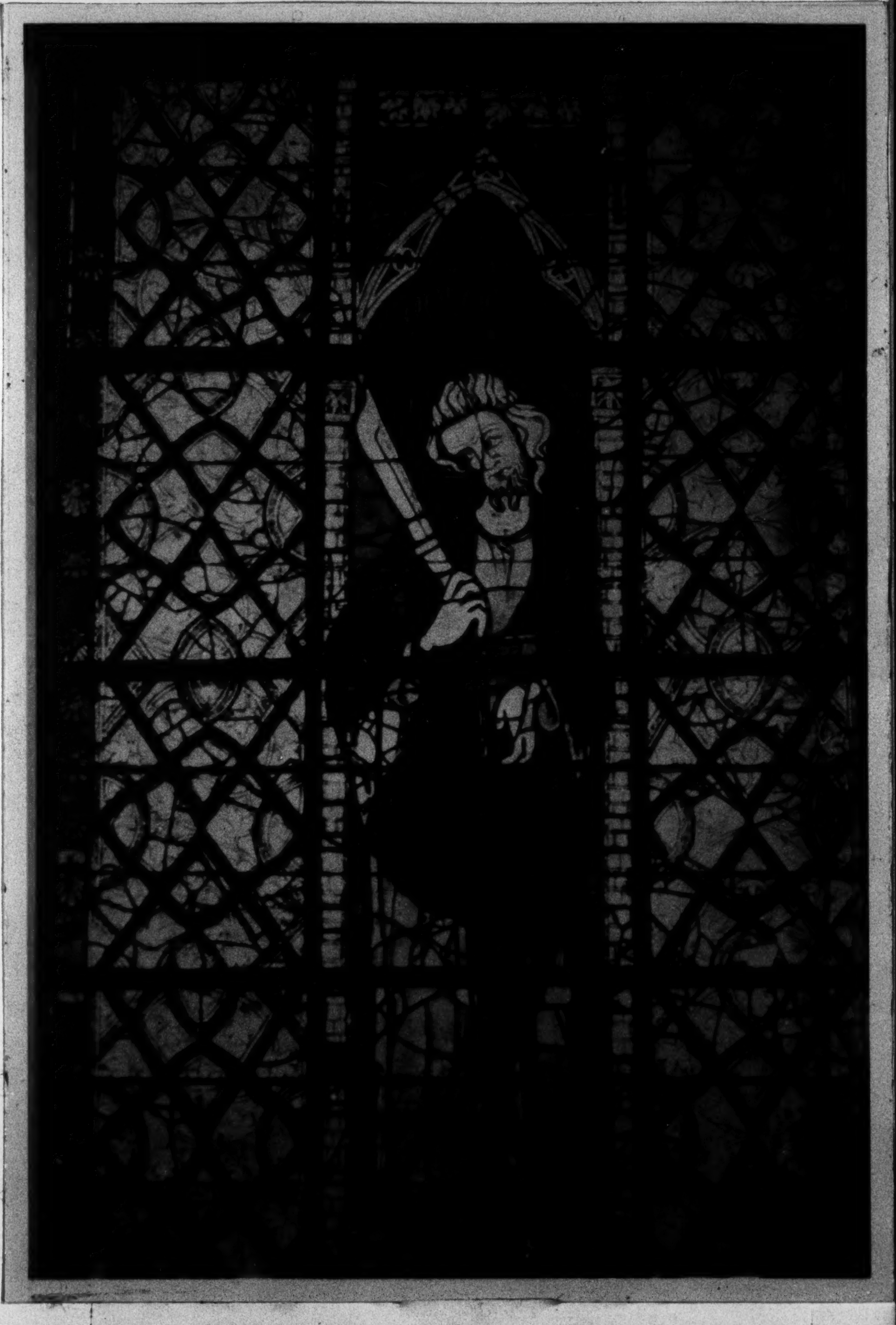
---

[1] Emile Mâle, "La peinture sur verre en France," in André Michel, Histoire de l'art, II (Paris, 1906), 392.

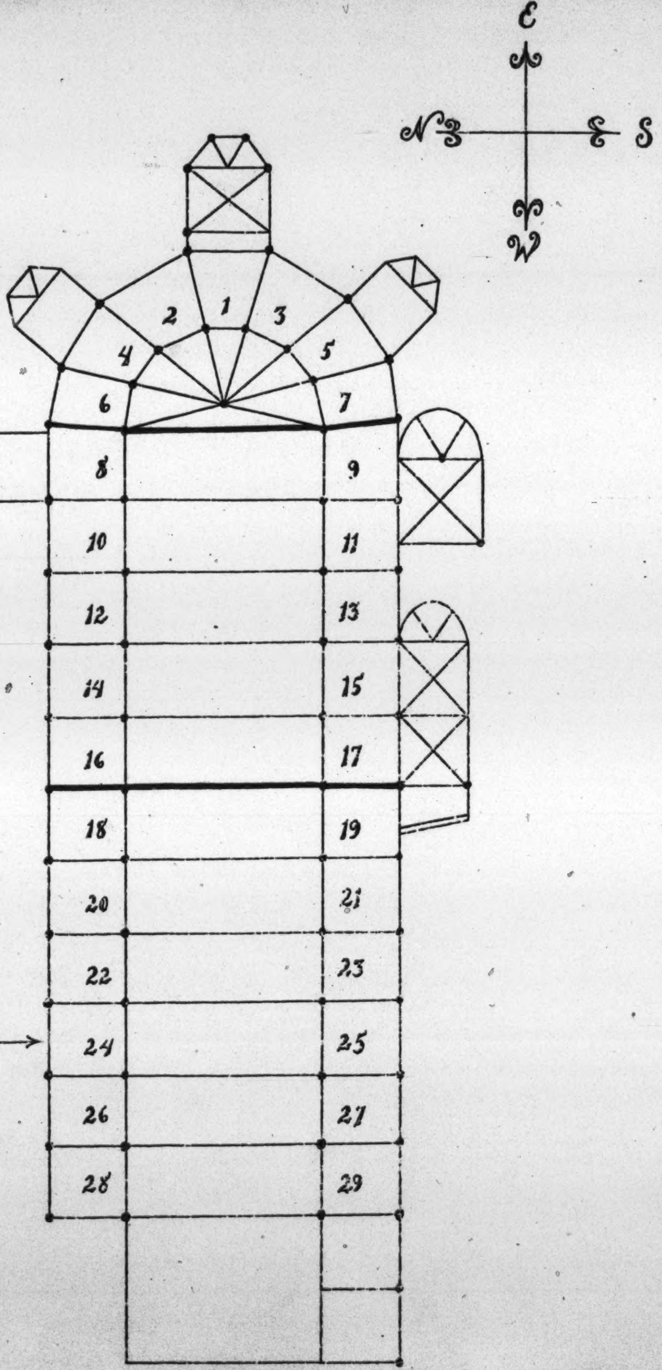
[2] Université de Paris, Faculté des lettres, Travaux des étudiants du Groupe d'Histoire de l'art (Paris, 1927-28), pp. 71-94 (available in this country at Yale).

Discussions of the silver stain technique rarely refer to the artistic climate which heralded its invention. The soaring canopies of the fourteenth century and the 'band window' design have received more attention but the transitional experiments are not so well-known. Grisaille of the transitional period, and for that matter inscription style, still are uncharted in print. A monograph on an important monument like Saint-Père should mine considerable data for such investigations. Why should one study Saint-Père? The subject is not only rich in historical and stylistic materials, the exemplar of an interesting regional style, but finally a beautiful work of art.

FRONTISPIECE
COPY 1
typist
OK



Saint-Père de Chartres: Bay 24 - St. Bartholomew


E
N
S
W
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
entrance

Plan of Saint-Père

(Drawings by Kevin Mc Intyre)

Fig 1

Plan of Saint-Père } one line

(Drawings by Kevin Mc Intyre)

→

#① →
From now
on the
page
numbers
go at
top
right -

CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND DOCUMENTATION

The Saint-Père windows are set in a church, and it is the study of the church which will occupy the introductory part of this chapter. A thumb-nail biography of the abbey's history and development will begin the study, followed by a brief discussion of the church fabric, both as it evolved through a somewhat tortuous history and as it now stands. Documentation is not totally lacking for Saint-Père, but often is of dubious merit or contradictory, and stylistic evidence must carry the brunt of the task for the period of most interest, the late twelfth through the early fourteenth centuries. The documentation concerning the church glazing is equally meagre, although four donors supply a handful of useful dates. The outline of stained glass design will be carried to its moment of fruition in the early fourteenth century, followed by a survey of those repairs and reconstructions of any significance to the windows from that time to the present.

fruition

! ② →

History of the abbey

The church of Saint Pierre, the lovely gothic structure which graces the banks of the Eure in the lower town of Chartres and which since the Revolution has served it as parish church, had a long and distinguished history as church of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Père-en-Vallée. This ancient monastery, formerly beyond the city,[1] existed from the sixth or seventh century and was possibly the earliest Christian establishment in the region.[2] It sustained damage during the Norman invasions of 857, 898 and 911, and was renewed during the mid-tenth century. Abbot Aganon (926-41) rebuilt the abbey and his successor, Ragenfroid (941-55), established a

---

[1] The city walls were enlarged to enclose Saint-Père in 1369. See Dom Aubert, Chapter 77 (for full citation, see n. 1, p. 6).

X
n. 1, p. 6).

[2] According to a tradition recorded by Dom Aubert (ch. 116) the old chapel of St. Stephen (or probably a more primitive one on the site) originally had been a martyrium dedicated to that saint. Situated in a cemetery, it contained bones of the first martyrs to the cult in the Chartrain area. The chapel was destroyed during the Revolution. Remains of it can be seen on the exterior of the north side of the choir. According to this tradition the churches of Saint-Pierre (abbatial) and Saint-Hilaire (parochial), the latter situated directly north of the former and razed after the Revolution, were built to either side of the martyrium. Louis Duchesne (Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule, 2nd ed., II [Paris, 1900], 418-27) gives the date of the first bishop of Chartres as 344, however (p. 420), considerably earlier than the establishment of Saint-Père.

(3)→

dozen monks there. Fires again ravaged it in 1077 and 1134. The great Chartrain fire of 1134 destroyed the roof timbers of the abbey, and Abbot Foucher (1150-71) mobilized a campaign of construction which was to continue intermittently for the next century and a half.

The abbey was entering a period of great wealth and influence by the end of the eleventh century, and during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries increasingly came to papal and royal attention.[1] Visits by abbots and papal legates between Chartres and Rome were not infrequent; the abbey maintained oriental students at Paris; it took part in prayers on the death of Louis IX and received royal subsidies; and it possessed the requisite power to maintain a running feud with the canons of the cathedral during much of the period in question.[1] The mortuary roll of Abbot Guy I (1200-31), who had himself visited the pope in 1225, contained the enormous number of 390 entires of ecclesiastical establishments in fraternity with Saint-Père.[2] Philippe-le-Hardi, in 1284, exempted the abbey from taxes[3] and Philippe-le-Bel, in 1296, addressed the monks on the subject of his unpopular cinquantième war-tax in an equivocal letter which bears interpretation as a royal bequest.[4] One of the earliest images of the beautified Saint Louis stands in the axial clerestory window.

---

[1] See Eugène Berger, "Etude historique et archéologique sur l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres," thesis, Ecole des Chartes, I (1913), pt. III (summarized in *Positions des thèses*, [1913], esp. pp. 12-15). The thesis manuscript is in the Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, B 219. According to Berger, Louis le Gros enlarged and defended the abbey's territories against the Chartrain family of Puiset (in 1119 Count of Chartres sided with the English against Louis VI, and Chartres was attacked); Louis VII took the abbey under his protection; the Popes Pascal II (1118) and Honorious II (1127) confirmed the abbey's land possessions; the abbey's right to elect its own abbot was confirmed by papal legate under Abbot Eudes (1130-50); the very active and influential Abbot Gui I (1200-31) obtained numerous privileges from Popes Innocent III, Honorious III and Gregory IX.

The abbey's fortunes began to decline during the universal troubles of the fourteenth century and it never regained its former glory. In 1491 it lost the privilege of election of residing abbots. In 1650 the Congregation of

---

[1] See F. de Mély, "Les Inventaires de l'abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée." Revue de l'art chrétien, 4th series, IV (XXXVI), (July, 1886), 316-17, citing Dom Aubert, p. 282, and Gallia christiana, VIII, 353-c.

[2] Brossier-Géray, "Le Rouleau mortuaire de Gyy Ier Abbé de Saint-Père de Chartres, 1231, "Bulletin de la Société Dunoise, III (1875-80), 228-40.

[3] Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir, H. 6, no. 10.

[4] Dom Muley, CLV; copy also in Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir, H. 25. See discussion of the King's letter, and of the cinquantième tax generally, in Benjamin Guèrard, Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres, (Paris, 1840), p. clv, para. 136 and II, p. 724.

Saint-Maur took control and initiated repairs and reforms in many areas of abbey affairs. Immediately preceding the Revolution the Maurist Dom Muley was in process of copying the archives of Saint-Père for King Louis XIV. The Revolution did its work, and in 1801 Saint-Père, having served briefly as a saltpeter factory, was established as the parish church of the lower town. The adjoining cloister buildings, built ca. 1700, were occupied by cavalry and the former parish church, Saint-Hilaire, situated directly to the north, was razed to 'faciliter l'accès des fidèles à l'église Saint Pierre.' In the mid 1960's the church came under the control of the Franciscan order and the cloister structures, in a ruinous condition after having been used by the Germans in World War II, were dismantled.

Original sources of the abbey's history include a number of valuable, very early manuscripts, ending with the twelfth century,[1] as well as Maurist compilations of data

Aganon
Paul

---

[1] "Aganon vetus," cartulary of 1066-88 by the monk Paul, Bibl. Chartres ms. 1060; 12th c. copy, abridged, with additions, Bibl. Chartres ms. 1061; "Livre d'argent," 12th c. ms. including charts from 928-1171, BN ms. lat. 10101. Both the "Aganon vetus" manuscripts were destroyed in World War II. They and the Livre d'argent had been published by Guerard. Several 12th c. necrologies with later additions were also destroyed in the war (Bibl. Chartres ms. 1031; ms. 1038$\frac{7}{D}$ ms. 1037$\frac{7}{D}$; ms. 26-30, of which only ms. 29 survived).

and archival material made in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[1] The former do not go far enough into the most fascinating period of the abbey's history--the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries--and the latter deal with them through hearsay, legend, error and conjecture based on copies of excerpts of a few remaining legal papers. The profile of a powerful abbey during its period of greatest influence and activity must be drawn from careful use of such sources and from what stylistic criticism can relate of its artistic achievements.[2]

---

[1] Dom Bernard Aubert, "Veritable inventare de l'histoire de la royalle abbaye de Sainct-Pere-en-Vallee de Chartres," (1672), Bibl. Chartres ms. 1151; a legible 18th c. copy made for Gaignières, BN ms. fr. 22474; Dom Charles du Jardin prior in 1709, "Abrégé de l'Histoire de St. Pere de Chartres," *Monasticon benedictinum*, BN ms. lat. 12689, pp. 214-326, and Bibl. Chartres ms. 1515; Dom Charles Muley, copy of archives for King Louis XIV, 1772-75, Bibl. Chartres ms. 1136 (published by Guérard, survived the war); *Gallia christiana*, VIII (1744), col. 1213ff. Other Benedictine compilations include: BN n. acq. fr. 9251, f. 26; ms. lat. 9221-2; ms. lat. 13819, f. 77-124. In the Archives d'Eure-et-Loir can be found the following compilations of copies of documents, largely late 17th or 18th c.: H. 1, H. 2, H. 3, H. 6 (1663), H. 434 (runs up to mid-16th c.).

[2] Several thesés by modern French authors deal with Saint-Père. For archival history the following are more or less reliable: Eugène Berger, "Etude historique et archéologique sur l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres," Ecole nationale des Chartes (1913); Louis-Marie Michon, "L'Abbaye de St. Père de Chartres, Etude archéologique sur l'église abbatiale et les bâtiments monastiques," Ecole nationale des Chartes (1922). For architecture, see: Georges Jouven, "Saint Pierre de Chartres, Etude archéologique," thesis for Commission des Monuments historiques (1946-47); Paule Bienvenüe, "Les Bâtiments conventuels de l'ancienne abbaye Saint-Père de Chartres," *Bulletin monumental*, CXVI (1958), 7-27.

Saint-Père: Construction of architecture and stained glass

glass

Church rebuilt under Abbot Aganon in mid-tenth century.

Fire in 1077.

Church rebuilt in late-eleventh century. Present western tower remains, probably from this construction.

Fire of 1134 (roof timbers destroyed).

ca. 1151-65: construction of choir by monk Hilduard. Discovery of St. Gilduin's body in 1165 at end of construction.

ca. 1190: north aisle of nave erected (to one side of Romanesque nave)

-- old nave (on site of present south aisle) torn down.

[ca. 1195-1225: dates of Chartres cathedral nave]

ca. 1210-40's: south aisle built copying cathedral pier design; nave elevation completed; old cloister torn down and rebuilt. Nave at clerestory level after ca. 1240.

Church was complete at mid-thirteenth century (12th c. choir and 13th c. nave and cloister).

ca. 1240-50: stained glass made, both grisaille and color (now found in choir). Probably intended for the nave.

put ? after date

hemicycle

Not before 1250 but closer to 1260-65?: upper choir and hemicycle torn down to ambulatory vaults and rebuilt west to east (choir clerestory mullions earlier than hemicycle).

The church was again complete, as it stands today, with early thirteenth century nave and new chevet.

8

ca. 1270ff.: earlier glass reused in new choir, Bays 14-15 glazed with new designs (too narrow for older panels). Choir triforium glazed with grisaille contemporary with Bays 14-15 but of mediocre quality. Several panels now in Bay 22 (original location unknown).

ca. 1295-1300: hemicycle glazed (finished after 1297).

hemicycle triforium glazed (naturalistis foliage grisaille, now largely missing).

ca. 1300-15: nave glazed. (standing figure group first, narrative group added?)

9

The Building

The church building as it now stands (Pl. 1) comprises a primitive western tower, an early thirteenth century nave and a chevet consisting of rayonnant upper stories dating ca. 1270 atop a mid-twelfth century ground floor (ambulatory, vaults, chapels). The design of the tower (Pl. 2) is quite crude, with windows set into the walls assymetrically. Its original function appears to have been that of a keep, to offer refuge in time of siege. As the interior was overhauled and embellished with a ground-floor vault in the early thirteenth century to form an entrance porch (no longer in use), it is difficult to tell whether the original construction dates from Abbot Aganon's construction of ca. 940 or from the late-eleventh century construction following the fire of 1077. It is probably a combination of both, a rubble wall construction later augmented by abutting buttresses of roughly regular masonry. The basic form--a very common one in Romanesque France--is that of the 'clocher-porche,' with a tribune and chapels over the porch as in the more well-known St. Germain-des-Prés in Paris. Grodecki dates Saint-Père ca. 990.[1]

---

[1] Louis Grodecki, L'architecture ottonienne (Paris, 1958), pp. 208, 241 (n. 139), 284.

In any case the Romanesque tower was the only part of the pre-twelfth century structure to survive intact the general city halocaust of September 5, 1134.

After the 1134 fire Abbot Eudes (1130-50) undertook the rebuilding of the cloister, and it was left to his successor, Abbot Foucher (1150-71), to initiate the campaign of construction of a new church. Foucher's architect, the monk Hilduard, began work at the east end and by ca. 1165 had finished the chevet. Funds were lacking to commence work on the nave, and an enclosing wall was constructed across the west side of the new choir. The lower story of Hilduard's construction remains. The north bays of the ambulatory as well as the last bay of the south aisle retain their original groined vaults.[1]

It is possible, but not likely, that the walled-up choir was provided with stained glass windows. The point is worth bringing up only because, according to an account in the *Gallia Christiana*, Abbot Etienne I (1172-93) "(e)cclesiam vitreis fenestris ornavit, eique supremam manum imposuit."[2]

---

[1] For further traces of the mid-twelfth century construction, see Jouven, pp. 71ff.; André Mussat, *Le style gothique de l'ouest de la France (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1963), pp. 57-8.

[2] *Gallia christiana*, VIII, col. 1226E.

11

The statement was based most probably on the late seventeenth-century manuscript of Dom Aubert, whose section on Abbot Stephen is full of errors and unproven hypotheses.[1] Unfortunately this has been the basis for assuming there was a lost twelfth-century glazing, which throughout the nineteenth century was even identified with the present windows.[2] A single medallion panel of twelfth century manufacture, representing the Ascension of Christ, was found in use as a stop-gap in Bay 24 during the restorations of 1906-08.[3] Its origins are unknown.

During excavations for the temporary wall of Hilduard's choir the body of St. Gilduin was discovered in a small vaulted

---

[1] See discussion Ch. VIII

[2] See Guérard, I, p. cclj; and Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, Histoire de la peinture sur verre, I (Paris, 1857), 40, n.3, in the 19th c. See also A.J. Bushnell, Storied Windows, (New York, 1914), p. 116, relying on de Lasteyrie.

[3] There is no compelling reason to assume that the panel originated at Saint-Père, as André Mussat does (p. 58 and n. 15). It has been dated ca. 1175 by Louis Grodecki, "Mélanges," Bulletin monumental, CXXI (1963), 78-9. It is currently stored in the studio of the Chartrain restorer Francois Lorin. The panel was discovered by his father Charles Lorin who published it in "Médallon du XIIe siècle dans l'église Saint-Pierre de Chartres," Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Le Cinquantenaire, I (1906), 508-14. The glass is in terrible condition, almost completely devitrified. The piece of clear light blue in the Virgin's skirt, believed by Lorin père to be original, is probably an old restoration. Except in Christ's glory there is absolutely no trace remaining of the damasquin on the blue ground of which Lorin writes.

12

chamber, and on May 9, 1165, it was moved with great pomp to the chapel of St. Nicholas (northwesternmost radiating chapel of choir).[1] Gilduin was of a noble Breton family related to the Chartrain family of Puiset. He died at Saint-Père on January 27, 1077 (n.s.) on his return from a trip made to Rome to refuse the honor of a bishopric (he was then aged about twenty-three). The chronicles maintain that it was solely as a result of the miraculous discovery of his body[2] and the costly gifts thereafter brought by pilgrims to the tomb that the abbey, impoverished by the construction of the choir, finally was able to begin work on the new nave.

---

[1] The body remained there until 1666 when it was moved to the chapel of St. Stephen, the Maurists confusing Gilduin with the better-known deacon saint Stephen (see discussion in Ch. VIII). Since the 19th century the body has been in the little church of Champhol (see l'Abbé Bulteau, *Description de la cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres, 1850), p. 280 n. 3 and p. 281).

[2] For reports of the saint's life and of the discovery of the body, see "Vita S. Gilduini," *Acta Sanctorum*, III, (27 Jan.), 408; *Gallia christiana*, VIII, col. 1226; "Historia inventionis et miraculorum S. Gilduini," *Analecta Bollandiana*, I (Brussels, 1882), 152-57; parts of this text are reprinted in V. Mortet-P. Deschamps, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture* (Paris, 1929), pp. 88, 90; Dom Charles du Jardin, BN ms. lat. 12689, f. 303; Dom Aubert, especially chs. 52, 89.

13

The remainder of the fabric of the present church--nave and new upper structure of the choir--was built and glazed from the late twelfth century through the early fourteenth century. No archival documents remain covering the construction. It seems clear, however, that the building campaign was resumed before the end of the twelfth century and continued with intermittent interuptions through the first three quarters of the next century. The piers of the north aisle of the nave probably date ca. 1190-95, slightly before those of the cathedral nave (see Pl. 4). Those of the south aisle, on the other hand, are inspired by the pier style of the cathedral rebuilt after the 1194 fire and probably were erected after an interval during which the primitive nave structure was razed.[1]

The nave of Saint-Père is a three-story chartrain elevation. The triforium has no balustrade and is formed of four trefoil arches per bay, decorated with quatrefoils in the spandrels (alternately pierced and blind) (Pl. 3a). True trefoil arches (as opposed to lancet arches with trefoiling added on the intrados) were used at Beauvais (triforium of ambulatory) ca. 1225-35 and are found in dado arcading in the '30's and '40's. Pierced quatrefoils occur at Saint-

---

[1] See Jouven, pp. 31ff.; Michon, ch. 3 (summarized in Ecole nationale des Chartes, Positions des thèses (1922), pp. 95-103); Bienvenüe, p. 7; Ad. Lecocq, "Dissertation historique et archéologique sur la question: Où est l'emplacement du tombeau de Fulbert, éveque de Chartres, au XIe siècle?" Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Memoires, V (1877), 319. The theories of Bienvenüe and Lecocq concerning the general order of construction mesh well with the dates for the nave assigned by Jouven and Michon.

Q

Quentin (Aisne) (probably 1245-50).

The clerestory windows of the Saint-Père nave are doublet-and-rose (large lancets and very small oculus) (Pl. 5). It is a window design related to the choir aisles of the cathedral (1200-10) and cannot date much later than 1250, by which time it was dying out.[1] The Saint-Père windows have a meneau en délit, first found ca. 1225 in the nave of Notre Dame.[2]

The upper structure of the Saint-Père nave probably reached completion just before mid-century. An interesting comparison can be made with Gallardon, another three-story chartrain elevation in the region of Chartres dating ca. 1245. The triforium at Gallardon is a similar arcaded design, but formed of the more common trefoiled lancet arches. The spandrels are decorated with blind quatrefoils. The clerestory tracery varies, but in all cases is more advanced than that of Saint-Père. All doublets are divided by mullions into two lancets with oculus, making four lancets per bay, a design closer to that of the Saint-Père choir than the nave.

---

[1] One of the last major buildings to use doublets in the clerestory was Saint-Nicaise at Reims, begun 1231 and probably in construction at clerestory level about 1240. See Robert Branner, "Paris and the Origins of Rayonnant Gothic Architecture Down to 1240," Art Bulletin, XLIV (March, 1962), 49.

[2] Prof. Robert Branner, communication December 1967. For a dating ca. 1240, see Marcel Aubert, La Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris (Paris, 1909), p. 12.

Thus before ca. 1250 the church of Saint-Père stood complete, with a mid-twelfth century chevet and a newly finished nave. The decision must have been made shortly thereafter to modernize the chevet. For reasons of economy and also perhaps a sense of urgency, the monks chose to tear down the upper stories only, leaving the main arcading and aisle vaulting of Hilduard's construction to form the foundation for a new rayonnant upper structure. Their decision and the subsequent demolition probably occupied the years ca. 1245-1255/60.

The dating of the rayonnant construction, of some importance for the stained glass, is unfortunately problematical. The exquisite upper stories of the hemicycle and choir (Pl 7), full-blown rayonnant in the manner of Tours cathedral, comprise a campaign occupying, possibly, the years between ca. 1260 and 1270. The new construction undoubtedly began at the west where it joined the existing nave. The campaign probably continued without interuption. Details of the hemicycle differ only to a very slight degree from those of the choir,[1] and would indicate only a change in master mason rather than any measurable lapse of time. The articulation of the tracery of the clerestory is quite advanced. On the exterior (Pl. 8), for example, three series of moldings and capitals articulate the relieving arch of the window, the arch of each lancet, and that of the lights within. The large rose is molded, although the spandrels to either side are not.

It is difficult to date many of the features of the rayonnant style with precision, since once introduced they appeared again and again in the architecture of the entire second half of the thirteenth century and even thereafter. In general features--dimensions and general design of clerestory, triforium with passage and quatrefoiled balustrade--the choir of Saint-Père greatly resembles that of Tours, probably finished before 1260.[1] The tracery design in the clerestory and the openwork 'screening' of the triforium at Saint-Père appear to be only slightly scaled-down versions of those at Tours, which is, after all, a small cathedral. As in the Tours triforium (Pl. 112) there are no imposts at Saint-Père on the capitals of the triforium, those of the vault springers and of the clerestory mullions of the straight choir.[2]

---

[1] In the straight choir the capitals of the vault springers, those of the triforium and those of the exterior and interior clerestory mullions have no imposts; those of the exterior of the hemicycle do. The spandrels of the triforium in the straight choir have a rather unusual recessed panel such as is found in the eastern bays of Strasbourg; those of the hemicycle do not. See Robert Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1965), pp. 19, 95. The buttresses are of slightly different design, those of the hemicycle having an engaged vertical strip added to the sides. The tracery of the hemicycle clerestory seems slightly more articulated, the lancets being trefoiled at the top and the upper lights of the tracery quatrefoiled to bring it more closely in line with the tracery patterns of the triforium screen. Hemicycles, however, generally vary in tracery from the straight bays of a choir.

The attractively compact theory that the Saint-Père choir architecture, and by implication the glazing, are merely

---

[1] Robert Branner believes that the upper stories of Tours were planned and begun about 1245, slowed down during crusade (1248-54) and finished before 1260. The glazing is dated ca. 1257-70. See: Francis Salet, "La Cathédrale de Tours," _Congrès archéologique_, CVI (1949), 36; Marcel Aubert _et al_., _Le vitrail français_ (Paris, 1958), p. 163 (this work will hereafter be cited as _VF_); Louis Grodecki in _VF_, p. 156; Chanoine H. Boissonot, _Les Verrières de la cathédrale de Tours_ (Paris, 1932), especially pp. 13-14; A. Mussat (p. 165) states that construction began ca. 1240; was finished ca. 1270-75 (wood purchased for the roof in 1279).

[2] The capitals of the exterior of the hemicycle (but not the choir) have well-defined imposts. See n. 1,2 p. 16, supra.

X

n.1, p.16
supra.

18

an immediate local copy of Tours must be tempered as far too simple, however. Many architectural details differ strikingly, such as the unusual recessed spandrels of the Saint-Père triforium (Pl. 7a);[1] the non-linking colonnette which runs up the center of each triforium bay but does not continue to clerestory level;[2] the isolated épi on the top of each triforium lancet, which has no matching crockets running up the arch beneath it;[3] and the 'straight-line' arches on the exterior of the apse (Pl. 8b).[1] Tours accounts for the basic architectural flavor of Saint-Père but not the spice.

---

[1] The recessed spandrels occur in the eastern bays of Strasbourg in the 1240's, based on Essomes and ultimately derived from Saint-Nicaise at Reims. See n. 2 infra.

n. 2 //

[2] The colonnette runs up the center of each triforium bay, but significantly it does not link with the clerestory level. Thus it is distinguished from the linked triforium and clerestory which occur at Amiens, Saint-Denis and Troyes cathedral. Both the recessed spandrels and non-linking colonnette are found in the eastern bays of Strasbourg in the 1240's. The Evreux triforium design (1260's-70's) also has a vertical colonnette, but one which is much more pronounced, rising from the string-course below the triforium and running in front of the framing colonnettes of the triforium arcade all the way up. I am indebted to Prof. Robert Branner for advice on the architectural study of Saint-Père.

[3] I have been unable to find any other examples of an épi without such crockets. At Saint-Père the épi breaks the string course below the clerestory and is obviously intended as a minor link--and indeed the only one--as it covers and hides the bases of the secondary mullions of the clerestory. Where épis have been broken away, the secondary bases can be seen to be unfinished, while the primary ones are all completely designed.

In stained glass the picture of Tours as the model is an even more distorted one. The kernel of truth is the relationship of both monuments to the Western School, a consanguinity which will be charted in Chapter V.

The Glass

The upper part of the church of Saint-Père contains stained glass from glazing campaigns of ca. 1245, ca. 1270 and ca. 1295-1315. This body of glass is now found in the clerestory of the nave (architecture ca. 1240's) and the pierced triforium and the clerestory of the chevet (architecture ca. 1270ff.). A surface comparison of dates of the glass and its architectural framework is grossly misleading, however, for the earlier part of the building (the nave) now contains the latest glazing (ca. 1305 ff.). Conversely the latest part of the architectural construction (the chevet) includes among its windows examples of all the glazing campaigns, including that of ca. 1245 probably provided windows for the newly erected nave, although this hypothesis cannot be proven. Remnants of this campaign are now located in the clerestory of the choir. The campaign of ca. 1270 was inaugurated to provide windows for that choir and its product consists largely of grisailles for tracery lights and for the pierced triforium. Only two windows containing colored and figured glass (Bays 14 and 15) can be assigned to the campaign of ca. 1270, and these two are 'facing windows' occupying an architectural bay too narrow to accommodate the earlier glass which was placed in its neighbors. The impressive final campaign of the church produced, first of all, the masterwork of the Western School--the seven blazing windows of the hemicycle[1] of Saint-Père--and then after ca. 1305 proceeded in some haste to provide for the twelve vast, emptied clerestories of the early thirteenth century nave.

---

[1] An early example of 'straight-line' arches occurs in the north transept of Hereford cathedral in the 1260's. See Geoffrey Webb, *Architecture in Britain in the Middle Ages* (Pelican History of Art, 12) (London, 1956), p. 121, pl. 114. Webb states that the tall transept windows at Hereford are "very uncommon in England and almost certainly of French derivation. . . .;" but he makes no mention of the 'straight-line' arch, which may have begun in England, possibly as a *gaucherie* on the part of English designers, and thereafter travelled to France. As the 'straight-line' arch is found in the inner vestibule of Westminster before 1253, its appearance at Saint-Père can in no way be dated with assurance.

Add to note →

---

[1] The few grisaille fragments left in the hemicycle triforium can be dated with the clerestory ensemble ca. 1295-1300, as they exhibit a lovely naturalistic foliage. Almost all of this beautiful grisaille was removed after 1801 to provide space for the Renaissance fragments saved from the razed Saint-Hilaire. Remaining bits occupy lancet arches (see also Bay 6 [Pl. 10] and Bays 16 and 17 of the triforium, where naturalistic grisaille debris has been placed).

I will discuss the glass in three groupings, those in the choir, the hemicycle and the nave. Each group has its special characteristics and problems: the choir presents reused glass of ca. 1245 and a small amount of work from the date of the 'reuse,' in an alloy which evokes some trepidation in the heart of its students. Indeed, in dealing with medieval glass reworked within a quarter-century, 'fools rush in where angels fear to tread.' The hemicycle presents a totally different picture--the study of a consummate masterpiece. The nave, finally, offers for perusal a wealth and variety of glass design which staggers the eye, uneven in quality but never dull, full to bursting with ideas, energy, evidence of a decade's bustling activity in a humming workshop.

There is no firm evidence that the lower windows ever contained medieval glass. It seems odd that a church would be glazed only at the top.[1] It was, however, the new 'top' of which the monks were the most proud at the moment when the fabric was finished and their attention turned to its embellishment. It may be that the fourteenth century with

---

[1] Jean Lafond, "Le vitrail en Normandie de 1250 à 1300," Bulletin monumental, III (1953), 350, n. 1, cites Sées, Saint-Ouen de Rouen and Cologne as monuments where the clerestory was glazed at the same time or earlier than the lower windows.

~~27~~
22

its wars and plagues cut short a glazing campaign before it progressed to the windows at aisle level.

The series of windows in the choir (Pls. 22-46) is the earliest in the church. Excepting only Bays 14-15 and the tracery and triforium grisailles, the group gives stylistic evidence of dating perhaps a quarter-century earlier than the architecture in which it is found. It is composed of designs, both color and grisaille, which probably were intended for the nave clerestory at its completion in the 1240's and which were reused for the new choir ca. 1270. The triforium grisaille and the glass of Bays 14-15 were designed about that time to complete the choir ensemble, the two bays in question being too narrow to accommodate the earlier panels.[1]

The window groups of the hemicycle and nave fall about and just after the year 1300. Those of the hemicycle (Pls. 9-20), dated after 1296 by a figure of St. Louis, logically would come first to complete the chevet ensemble. Of consistently high quality, they were probably in planning and process of fabrication almost from the completion of the upper choir structure. The St. Louis is more likely a final addition than an initial subject choice. The nave series (Pls. 47-86) is of more uneven quality, some fine and some quite mediocre, and evidently hastily done. The group can be dated by donations in the first decade of the fourteenth century, by which time the nave's doublet-and-rose architecture was considerably out-of-date. There is evidence of some tampering with the buttresses of the nave about the same time[1] which may have been triggered by the presence of new scaffolding for the glass and by the desire to embellish the then slightly old-fashioned nave to match the newer eastern end of the building. It is fairly safe to assume that most of the construction and glazing had been completed by the first decade of the century, because thereafter documents mention donations for accessories of lesser importance.[2]

---

[1] The mid-12th c. lower story of the choir has an irregular alternation of weak and strong piers.

v lesser

---

[1] Jouven, pp. 69-70, wrote in 1946 that he believed that the lower flyer, which exhibits a now useless rut for water drainage, must have been the original design, the upper flyer and monolithic colonnettes being added at "l'extreme fin du XIIIième siècle."

[2] Abbot Jean de Mantes, donor of the glass of Bay 22, gave a bourdon named "Saint Pierre' for the belfry in 1308. [See *Gallia christiana*, VIII, col. 1229 (p. 219, n. 2) and Dom Aubert, ch. 108]. In 1325, according to Dom Aubert, a new reliquary was provided for one of the abbey's venerated relics, the bones of the virgin Ste. Soline, martyred at Chartres in early Christian times. The new reliquary is mentioned in inventories of 1399, 1665 and 1790 [see F. de Mély, Les Inventaires de l'abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, ser. 4, especially V (v. 37) (January, 1887), 63, 71, 72].

The nave groups maintains as strong a design plan as do those of the choir and hemicycle, but gives evidence of having been executed in some haste and by artists of varying degrees of skill. These are the windows for which outside funds were sought and obtained, and which offer concrete evidence of dating. The nave donors form a touchstone by which to measure the stylistic evidence for dating the rest of the church and at the same time a terminus ante quem. Of the half dozen benefactors, four are traceable.[1] The first is the Abbot Jean I de Mantes (1306-10), whose kneeling figure appears in the lower row of Bay 22.

This bay, the Peter window (Pl. 58), is the earliest and most confused of the narrative group in the nave. It is formed of earlier pairs of panels vastly augmented to fill the expanse of the broad clerestory space.[2] It seems likely that the abbot gave it upon the occasion of his election to office, or shortly after that event. He emerges as possibly the guiding personality in the planning and execution of the nave narrative series, and thus of the design plan in its final sophisticated form of alternating narrative and grisaille/ figure types.

---

[1] An anonymous lay couple and an unidentified abbot complete the group.

[2] See discussion of Bay 22 in Chs. IV and XI.

Another donor is Béatrix de Montfort-l'Amaury, widow of Robert IV, Count of Dreux. Her escutcheons can be seen in the roundel above Bay 19 (Pl. 52), a narrative window which places stylistically after Abbot Jean's bay but before the others in the group. The Countess died March 9, 1312 (n.s.) and had begun dispersing her estate before that date.[1]

Bay 21 (Pl. 57), a window of colored figures originally framed by diaper, contains a large kneeling figure of another donor, Laurent Voisin. Laurent was dean of the cathedral from at least 1293 until his death late in 1314 or very early in 1315.[2] Beneath his feet are depicted two traceried windows, a possible indication that his gift may have financed both the bay in which he is found and another, most probably the matching Bay 20 directly opposite (Pl. 54). Bays 20-21 are the only pair in the church to have contained colored diaper in place of grisaille (now removed except in arches).

While figures or escutcheons of the abovementioned benefactors remain in the church and hence are discussed more fully in later chapters, the most generous donor to the nave glazing is traceable only through documents. Nicolas de Maison-Maugis, a canon of the cathedral during the first decade of the fourteenth century and thus a confrère of Laurent Voisin, gave the abbey the sizeable sum of Ł 300 Carn. for windows in the nave. The evidence of his gift is a document preserved from the abbey archives, which specifies:[1]

---

[1] See discussion in Ch. XI, Bay 19.

[2] See Ch. X, discussion of Bay 21.

> . . .honnorable homme et saige Maistre Nicolas de Maison-Maugis, Chanoyne de Chartres, meu en devocion envers le Monastere et lez Religieus de Saint Pere de Chartres, [1] donne et aumosne taute la disme de tout le terrouer de la Pommeraie. . .[2] et delivre ausdiz Religieus trois cens livres Chartrains pour estre mis et employéz es vittres de la nef dudit Monastere. . . . Parmy ce que lesdiz Religieus, eulx et leurs sucesseurs seront tenus de dire et celebrer en leur dit Monastere toutes les sepmaimes deux messes des trepassés pour le salut et remede de l'ame dudit maistre Nicholas. . . . Ce fut fait l'an de grace mil trois cens et onze, le jeudi seiziesme jour d'Aoust (1311, Thurs. Aug. 16).

Unfortunately the date is in error, as August 16 fell on a Monday in 1311.[2] The terminal dates for this important

---

[1] There are several copy-sources for the document, the original of which is lost: (a) the most complete copy, from which the quote is taken, Dom Muley, Chartres Bibl. ms. 1136, II, 133-34 (made for King Louis XIV, 1772-75); (b) Dom Aubert, ch. 109; (c) Archives d'Eure-et-Loir, H 200 (liasse--1 piece, 1790, and inventory of deeds); (d) Archives d'Eure-et-Loir, H1, I, 484 (18th c.).

Bibl. ✓

[2] The error was probably in the original, as it occurs in all known copies. See Maurice Jusselin, "Un Donateur pour les verrières de Saint-Père de Chartres au début du XIVe siècle," Bulletin monumental, LXXXIX (1930), 540-41.

verrières

donation would be after 1292, when Nicolas himself acquired the tithe of the fief of Pommeraye,[1] and before May 21, 1308, when he died.[2] The most probable year would be 1302.[3]

The sum he gave to the abbey for nave windows--£ 300 Carn.--undoubtedly would have paid for several bays even in the wildly unstable inflationary years of the early fourteenth century. Which ones and exactly how many are his it is impossible to tell.[1] One hypothesis is that Nicolas' bays comprise four of the standing figure windows of the nave.[2] The other two of the group were probably donated (one certainly by a fellow canon of the cathedral, Laurent Voisin, a man noted for his ecclesiastical benefactions during his lifetime.[3]

---

[1] Archives d'Eure-et-Loir, H1, I (18th c. copy), 484.

[2] Archives d'Eure-et-Loir G 31 (necrology of cathedral, copy of 1634); see E. de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet, *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*, III (Chartres, 1863), 116; see also Jusselin, "Un Donateur," p. 540.

[3] August 16 fell on a Thursday in 1296 and in 1302. Jusselin ("Un Donateur") suggests 'after 1301,' when Nicolas made out his will (dated November 3). (See: Archives d'Eure-et-Loir G 134, IV, Caisse LXVII, C, 1, p. 16; also Dom Muley, II, 133-34.) The earlier date--1296--remains in consideration for the following reason. In the donation document Nicolas asked only that the monastery say two masses weekly for his departed soul ('deux messes des trepassés, etc.'). Dom Aubert (ch. 107) reports, however, that Abbot Hervé, in the same year that he took office (1299), assembled his monks in order to deliberate what they should do to recognize the 'bienfaits' (unfortunately unspecified) of Nicolas de Maison-Maugis, and that by common consent they ordained that during his life they would say weekly three masses 'de Beata maria' for the health of his soul, that after his death they would say masses 'des deffuncts avec l'oraison' for the repose of his soul on every Monday and Wednesday, and that they would observe his anniversary annually. This looks like gratitude for a large donation, as it elaborates upon the very condition (two weekly masses for his departed soul) set by Nicolas in his gift. It must be admitted, however, that 'trois cens et onze' would be a more likely slip of the pen for 1302 than for 1296. Dom Aubert (ch. 109) noted the inconsistencies in documents and offered the explanation that the gift of the tithe and the windows may have been made to more firmly establish the monks' ordinance of 1299.

---

[1] It is impossible to guess how many windows could be bought for a certain sum during the period 1293-1308, when currency was extremely unstable. In 1293 the sum of £ 300 Carn. purchased a manor and its appurtenances, including windmill; the same property sold in 1315 for £ 400 Carn. (Archives d'Eure-et-Loir, H 267, pp. 40 ff.). However, between those dates the Chartrain baronial coinage underwent extreme fluctuation and debasement by the Count Charles de Valois. Philippe-le-Long suppressed the coinage in 1319. Examples: £ 100 of 1292 were worth only £33/6 sous/8 deniers 'de bonne monnaie' in 1308; wheat which in 1300 cost 6 sous/5 deniers, in 1304 cost 18 sous/6 deniers; in 1307, 4 sous/8 deniers; in 1310, 16 sous; in 1312, 6 sous; in 1317, 30 sous; in 1319, 3 sous/6 deniers. See: Eugène de Buchère de Lépinois, _Histoire de Chartres_, (Chartres, 1854), I, 415-19 and 560ff. For a discussion of glaziers' wages in 1317, see Yves Delaporte, _Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Chartres_ (Chartres, 1926), text vol., p. 20 and n. 1.

[2] A more modest hypothesis would link Nicolas as donor of the Catherine/Agnes window (Bay 27). His position as canon of the cathedral, famed for its theological school, might explain the unusual iconographic stress on Catherine as dialectician in that Bay. (See Ch. XI, Bay 27). The Catherine bay, however, dates on stylistic grounds after 1306 (date of Bay 22) and Nicolas died in 1308. See chart of nave narrative bays, Ch. IV.

[3] In 1296 he founded the chapel of St. Julian in the cathedral; in 1310 he founded the chapel of Sts. Gilles and Loup in the cathedral. See: Lucien and René Merlet, "Dignitaires de l'église Notre-Dame de Chartres," _Archives du diocèse de Chartres_, V (1900), 286; E. de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet, _Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres_ (Chartres, 1863), II, 233 and III, 65.

As the most likely date for Nicolas' gift falls before the earliest donation of the narrative series (Abbot Jean de Mantes, 1306) it is possible that framed standing figure bays were intended originally for the entire nave, and that it was Abbot Jean who created the plan to alternate them with color-saturated narrative windows. But here one enters the realm of pure conjecture.

The striking feature of the glass ensemble of Saint-Père is the overall coherence of its plan, a layout of considerable intricacy and refinement. Notwithstanding the differences of a style and execution among three series of glass whose production probably ranged over sixty years, the overall glazing of the church seems to have been conceived and carried to completion as a single vision. The hemicycle was planned quite naturally as the focus of light and color. It contains no grisaille at all and no diaper filler. The choir windows reuse older glass, but their redesign was by no means haphazard. The older panels of standing prophets in medallions and of grisaille were carefully adapted to the new choir lights. The narrow Bays 14-15 of the choir were filled with matching designs. More important, the decision to alternate color and grisaille in vertical patterns--a unique concept--was taken in the choir. The nave windows of standing saints adapt the same procedure to broader areas and a different window format, presenting strips of color sandwiched vertically between grisaille rather than in one-to-one alternation. The final decision to alternate the standing figure bays in the nave with color-saturated narrative windows picking out the themes of the tracery medallions of the hemicycle may have been a final refinement, a burst of lavish variation on a main theme. The ensemble, disparate in detail, is absolutely homogeneous in effect.[1]

The Glass: Restoration and Repair

put in cf.

The consideration of repairs and modifications will be presented as a chronological outline (cf. fig. 1) of documentary evidence from the fourteenth century to the present time.

During the fourteenth century the abbey underwent minor repairs from time to time, precipitated by floods in 1342 and 1366 and occasional damage by the English during the

---

[1] Note, for instance, how donors' figures, escutcheons and inscriptions have been fitted into the general scheme for the nave without in any way obtruding in the overall plan.

Major Losses to Medieval Glass

hemicycle: Bay 7 (blinded ca. 1350)

choir: Bays 8-9--grisaille lancets (removed 18th c.?)

Bay 13--tracery grisaille and figure lancets (destroyed in W. W. II)

Bays 16-17--grisaille lancets (removed 18th c.?)

nave: Bays 20-21--colored diaper (removed 18th c.)

Bay 23--12 narrative panels and arches (removed 18th c.)

Minor Losses to Medieval Glass
(limited to whole panels)*

hemicycle: Bay 5--right tracery quatrefoil
--lower right figure, middle panel

choir: Bay 9--upper right figure, head panel
--upper left figure, middle panel

Bay 11--upper right figure, middle panel

Bay 17--lower right figure, middle panel

nave: Bay 19--2 narrative panels

Bay 21--St. Gregory, two lower panels

Bay 22--2 narrative panels and arches

Bay 27--2 narrative panels (center, lower row, left lancet)

--2 angels in arches

All north bays and 23, 27, 29 on south--roses

---

*The purpose of this list is to highlight losses of medieval designs, especially figure or narrative. Grisaille and canopy panels vary widely in degree of restoration but the original design can usually be defined.

Hundred Years'War.[1] The only change which seems to have altered the glazing was the walling up, ca. 1350, of the southwesternmost bay of the hemicycle (Bay 7) to strengthen a spiral staircase (Pl. 6c) added to the exterior at that time, running from triforium level to the roof. Bay 7 was glazed, without much doubt, with the other hemicycle windows at the beginning of the century, and its glass has largely been lost. Only one fragmentary and mutilated panel (Pl. 89) remains which can be ascribed to it.[2]

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw few repairs of major consequence affecting the glazing.[3] During these years the abbey, which had been prominent in both papal and royal affairs for several centuries, fell into a period of decline and began to lose lands and privileges. It was not until the seventeenth century that the abbey began glass restorations and repairs in earnest. In 1631, when general repairs of the entire upper structure of the church were undertaken, arrangements were made with the mason Pierre Dallonne and the master-glazier Pierre Dubois to 'descendre et refaire le pied droit de la vistre appellee la vistre de Saint-Vincent, restablir les pierres, asseoir le dicte vistre en plomb et gougeonnée deger.'[1]

---

[1] Dom Aubert, ch. 110. Jean II of France marshalled his forces in Chartres in 1356; peace talks concerning his ransom were held near Chartres in the hamlet of Brétigny in 1360.

[2] See Meredith Lillich, "Découverte d'un vitrail perdu de Saint-Père de Chartres," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Mémoires*, année 108, no. 13, (1964), pp. 264-68, which seeks to identify a fragment now stored in the studio of Francois Lorin of Chartres with the lost stained glass of this bay. M. Lorin found these fragments during the glass restorations of the early 1950's, glazed in a jumble in one of the lower apsidal windows. They had been placed there probably during the 1905-08 restorations, when it was the declared intention of the architect, Etienne Brunet, to have all misplaced glass found in the clerestory removed and used in the empty windows of the lower church.

[3] Lucien Merlet and E. Bellier de la Chavignerie, "Documents sur des travaux exécutés à Notre-Dame de Chartres et dans d'autres églises du pays chartrain pendant le seizième siècle," *Archives de l'art français*, VII (1855-56), 353ff. (esp. pp. 384-90).

In 1650 the abbey fell under the authority of the Benedictine reform congregation of St. Maur. From 1654-59

---

[1] See Michon, especially pt. I, ch. IV, pp. 29ff. He cites the 'registres des tabellions' of the abbey 1527-1631 (Archives d'Eure-et-Loir, E 2184). My gratitude is due to Mme. Katrine Grodecki for arranging with M. Michon's widow to see and take notes from the thesis. For a summary see Ecole des Chartes, Positions des thèses (1922), pp. 95-103. See also Jouven, p. 22. n. 2; and Maurice Jusselin, "Les peintres-verriers à Chartres au XVIe siècle," Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Mémoires, XVI (1931), 218. There is no clue to which window was then called the window of St. Vincent. Perhaps it is totally lost. Of the glass remaining in the church, only Bay 4 (hemicycle, in right tracery light) includes a St. Vincent (martyred). It seems unlikely that the window, which includes the martyrdom of St. Lawrence as well and four large standing saints would have been called the window of St. Vincent. The only large standing deacon-saint remaining is St. Gilduin in Bay 1, the axial window of the church. Perhaps Gilduin, confused with St. Stephen for a time, was also called St. Vincent.

~~35~~
34

the Congregation undertook extensive repairs, especially of the roof, buttresses and glass. In 1663 two new windows were pierced into the north aisle of the choir to provide more light.[1] Sometime after 1672, the date of Dom Aubert's chronicle, the monks wanted even more light in their church and stripped several of the clerestory bays of some of their colored panels. Bays 8-9 and 16-17 (see Pls. 22, 24b, 42, 44) lost their thirteenth century grisaille[2] as well, which, to judge from the state of those panels still in existence in other choir bays, may have become heavily calcified and darkened. Bays 20-21 of the nave lost the framing lancets of blue and dark red lozenge diaper, the pattern of which can still be seen in the tympana of each window (Pls. 55 and 56a). Bays 22-23 of the nave, both of which contain saints' legends, each lost all the panels of the framing lancets (see Pl. 61), leaving only a central vertical strip of color in each window.[1] Some of the panels have disappeared, but many of them were glazed in a confused and meaningless fashion into two lower windows opening onto the ambulatory (Pl. 65). They were rescued from such indignity by the restorers in 1905-08 and returned to the nave bays in as near the original order as it was possible to ascertain.

---

[1] See Dom Aubert, ch. 136-38. The Congregation also built two new chapels in 1666-67, and ca. 1700 tore down and rebuilt all of the buildings of the medieval cloister (the ca. 1700 dormitory, chapterhouse and archives were torn down in the mid-1960's).

[2] The panels, as well as those referred to below in Bays 20-21, are lost. The lancets are now filled with clear glass or 20th c. copies.

So much for documented major repairs before the Revolution. Additions to the glass were meagre, comprising a pair of panels inserted for some mysterious reason into Bay 22; a window of unknown location (now lost) given by Abbot Jean Pinart (1464-80?); and various escutcheons added to several clerestories. The panels added to the Peter window show two standing prophets against damasquined ground. Judging by the damasquin and the light use of silver stain they are late fourteenth century, and they were obviously designed (or altered) in a scale and with canopies to match those in the bay.[2] The lost window of Abbot Jean II (Pl. 90), preserved in a Gaignières drawing,[1] included the kneeling abbot and his coat-of-arms, a seated St. James as pilgrim, and the inscription:

---

[1] Twenty-eight panels remain, plus the tympana, in Bay 22; forty panels plus tympana in Bay 23, which has a differently proportioned format. A photograph (Arch. phot. 196405) found in the files of the Lorin glass studio shows Bay 22 before or during the 1905-08 restorations (Pl. 61). Another photograph (Arch. phot. 196433) (Pl. 65) found in the Michon thesis shows one of the ambulatory windows filled with a jumble of panels from Bay 23.

[2] See discussions of Bay 22 in Chs. IV and XI.

> VIe daoust Jour certain mil quatre cens octante et
> hui (t) Jehan pinart Abbé de ceans, cet ymage cy
> metre fi (t).[2]

It was placed, according to a note on the drawing, in a "Vitre á gauche dans la nef. . ." which, judging from the broad and untraceried format must have been in the lower aisle.

---

[1] The original is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ms. Gough Drawings--Gaignières 9, fol. 57). A mid-19th c. copy of the original is in the Bibl. Nat., Dept. des Estampes (Gaignières no. 3569, fol. 57). The Oxford drawing has not been published. For the Bibl. Nat. copy see: Henri Bouchot, *Inventaire des dessins executès pour Roger de Gaignières et conservés aux Départements des Estampes et des Manuscrits*, I (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1891), 470; Joseph Guibert, *Les Dessins d'archéologie de Roger de Gaignières*, Series II, Vitraux, Planches 1 à 100 (Ambroise-Etival) (Paris), n. d., pl. 92. Two other Gaignières drawings of 15th c. windows are listed erroneously as from Saint-Père in Ad. Lecocq, "Monuments chartrains de la collection Gaignières," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Procès-verbaux*, III (1868), 238-43. These drawings were made in reality from glass in the crypt of the cathedral. (Bouchot, I, 470-71, nos. 3570 and 3571.)

[2] Both original and copy show the date as "mil quatre cens octante et hui (t)" although the date customarily given for Pinart's death is January 13, 1480 (*Gallia christiana*, VIII, col. 1232A, but see col. 1283E which states he died in 1502). The BN copy has 'fin' for 'fit' in the second line of the inscription.

Of the various escutcheons added from time to time to the stained glass[1] the earliest was a fifteenth century emblem formerly in the rose over Bay 25 of the nave.[2] It was probably the coat-of-arms of Etienne II le Baillif (27th abbot of Saint-Père, 1394-1416), a great restorer and benefactor of the monastery. Four other escutcheons, of two donors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are still to be found in the grisaille panels of the same bay (Pl. 72). In the right lancet (see Pl. 88) are two coats-of-arms of Hélie de Bourdeilles (1423-84, archbishop of Tours and later cardinal);[3] in the left are those of Francois de Brilhac

---

[1] These are described in detail as they existed in the 19th c. by the Comte d'Armancourt, "Chartres. Notes héraldiques et généalogiques," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, *Le Cinquantenaire*, I (1906), 126-416.

[2] Armancourt, no. 302, p. 388 and n. 1. It apparently was placed in the rose only as a stop-gap. Its original placement is unknown. The restorers in 1906-08 removed it and put it in a lower chapel on the south aisle, in a jumbled condition. It has since been lost.

[3] Armancourt, no. 48, p. 185. He describes the left escutcheon as surrounded by a white cordelière and surmounted by a cross and a red hat with six houppes (1, 2 and 3). See photographs from the Michon thesis (Arch. phot. 196435) and taken during the 1953 restorations (Pl. 71). The Arch. phot. montage of the bay (60.N.116) (Pl. 72) shows the escutcheon in a mantling matching the right one (engraved decorative medallion in center of grisaille of the 14th c. type). It was probably changed during the 1953 restorations.

~~42~~
38

(34th abbot, 1522-40).[1] Five seventeenth century escutcheons formerly were placed in the clerestory windows. One, unidentified, was in Bay 17 of the choir;[2] the other four were found in Bay 24 of the nave. Two of these were the escutcheon of Louis I, Barbier de la Rivière (abbot 1635-70); the others belonged to one of his three predecessors in the office, either Philippe III (1595-99), Henri (1620-24) or Philippe IV (1624-35), all of the family of Hurault de Cheverny.[3] All of the late excutcheons replaced medieval grisaille panels. It is possible that inscriptions over the abbot and bishop saints of Bays 25 and 29 were modified or obliterated at the same time.

---

[1] Or his uncle Christophe de Brilhac, 32nd abbot (1491-1514). More probably it was Francois, as his tomb stood in the south aisle of the church. Armancourt, no. 56, pp. 191-92. The two escutcheons have different mantlings: the left one is surmounted by a cross; the right one is surmounted by an abbot's mitre, pallium and crosier.

[2] This panel was used in Bay 17 only as a stop-gap, occupying the middle light of the figure of an Old Testament patriarch, lower left. Armancourt, no. 285, p. 380. It is stored now among debris from Saint-Père in the studio of Francois Lorin. See old photographs of Bay 17 (Pl. 44) from Michon thesis (Arch. phot. 196430) and from files of Lorin studio (Arch. phot. 193492).

[3] Armancourt, no. 16, pp. 163-64 and no. 141A, pp. 268-69. They apparently were placed in the bay in a manner similar to the coats-of-arms still to be found in Bay 25. All four escutcheons are stored now among the debris from the church in the studio of Lorin. The workmanship of these escutcheons is typical 17th c. enamel painting on glass, of very poor quality.

The damage to Saint-Père during the Revolution included the destruction of any lower windows[1] as well as all reachable church furniture, but the clerestory glass and the grisaille of the choir triforium escaped without notable mutilation. When Saint-Père became the parish church of the _ville-basse_ in 1801, medieval grisailles were removed from the triforium of the hemicycle to provide a new location for colored fragments of sixteenth century windows[2] saved from the former parish church, Saint-Hilaire. Other Saint-Hilaire debris was used in the lower windows to either side of the axial chapel, and throughout the clerestory lights as stopgaps. They have now been removed from all locations save the hemicycle triforium.[3]

---

[1] Abbot Jean II Pinart's window probably disappeared then. Although modern guides often ascribe the wholesale absence of lower windows to Revolutionary destruction, there is no evidence that they ever were filled with medieval glass.

[2] For 19th c. descriptions of and references to these fragments after their placement in the triforium, see Bulteau p. 298; l'abbé Jean-Charles-Benjamin Poisson, _Chroniques de l'abbaye royale de St.-Père-en-Vallée_ (Chartres, 1857), pp. 418-19, 428; and François de Guilhermy, BN nouv. acq. fr. 6098, "Notes sur diverses localités de la France. Chalons-sur-Marne--Clermont-Ferrand," (1856-58), fol. 197v.

[3] A few very fine examples are among the fragments now stored in the Lorin studio. These were removed from the lower chapel and ambulatory windows during the 1951-54 restorations. For a discussion see Charles Lorin, "Les Vitraux de moyen âge, ceux de Chartres en particulier," _Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Le cinquaintenaire_, I (1906), 465.

~~#~~
40

The sixteenth century debris in the triforium of the hemicycle is in a haphazard and meaningless jumble (see Pl. 9), in many cases in pieces too small for identification. Subjects which can be recognized include: a Tree of Jesse; the Nativity; the Adoration of the Magi; the Adoration of the Shepherds; the Circumcision; Massacre of the Innocents; Presentation in the Temple; Flight to Egypt; Death and Assumption of the Virgin; some scenes from the life of Saint Hilaire and Saint Martin; and a rare and curious allegorical subject, the 'Pressoir mystique.' Among the scenes included from the allegory are the apostles cutting the vine of Christ, the apostles gathering grapes and treading on them in a vat, and the evangelists distributing the wine from the barrel.[1] The celebrated name of Pinaigrier was first connected with Chartrain windows by André Félibien in the late seventeenth century[2] and it was Pierre Le Vieil[3] who specified the church as Saint-Hilaire, the artist as 'Robert Pinaigrier,' and the date of execution as 1527-30. The tradition has died hard, being recorded most recently by Emile Mâle and the Chartrain archivist Maurice Jusselin.[1] Jean Lafond, however, in his thorough study of the Pinaigriers, doubts not only their connection with the glass now in the Saint-Père triforium but even the existence of the legendary Robert Ier, 'le bon Pinaigrier.'[2] No matter. The Saint-Hilaire debris varies in quality. Some of it could stand as models of the best of the French sixteenth century school of glass painting.

---

[1] For a bibliography on this subject, not represented in art until the early 15th c., see Emile Mâle, L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France (Paris, 1908), p. 111, n. 1.

[2] André Félibien, Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages de plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes, 2nd ed. I (Paris, 1685), 711: "Mais Vous pouvez avoir veu en plusieurs églises de Chartres des vitres peintes depuis l'an 1520. . . . Plusieurs estoient peintes par un nommé Pinaigrier Vitrier. . . ."

[3] Pierre Le Vieil, Art de la peinture sur verre (Paris, 1774), p. 42.

From 1820-40 several perfunctory attempts were made to repair the stained glass in Saint-Père.[3] In 1841 the church was classed a 'monument historique.' In 1854 the Commission des Monuments Historiques refused a request for funds for glass restoration,[1] and for the remainder of the century those meager repairs which were undertaken were financed by the impoverished parish.[2]

---

[1] Mâle, *Fin du moyen âge*, 4th ed (1931), p. 119, n. 4, refers to the artist as 'Jean Pinaigrier.' Jusselin surprisingly repeats the tradition without having unearthed the slightest proof of it in the monumental archival research undertaken for his "Peintres verriers à Chartres au XVIe siècle," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Mémoires*, XVI (1931), 153-254 (especially 221-23).

[2] Jean Lafond, "La famille Pinaigrier et le vitrail parisien au XVIe et au XVIIe siècles," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (1957), pp. 63-75 (especially pp. 72-73). See Lafond in *VF*, p. 324b, n. 9.

Lafond ✓

[3] Michon, ch. 7, states that repairs were made in 1820; that in 1829 the church 'fabrique' asked the architect to make up a request for funds to repair damage to the glass; and that this estimate was adopted after a considerable reduction in the amount requested. He states that small sums were made available in 1835 and 1836 for "reparations indispensables aux vitraux." His sources for this information are unknown; the documentation is not now part of the dossiers on Saint-Père in the archives of the Commission des Monuments Historiques.

The first thorough restoration of the Saint-Père glass was undertaken by the architect Etienne Brunet in 1905-08.[3] The restorers were Charles Lorin of Chartres (north side and fifth window of nave on the south) and Edmond Socard and Henri du Basty of Paris (remainder of the south side). In addition to general releading, restoration of missing pieces

---

Eglise

[1] Dossier I of the documents on Saint-Père in the archives of the Commission des Monuments Historiques (Eure-et-Loir, Chartres, Eglise St. Pierre, 453, ler dossier, 1842-1908) includes letters of 1853-54 containing remarks of M. Lassus concerning the ruinous state of the windows. No action was taken on the complaints.

[2] Funds were found somewhere for an incredibly bad series of windows for the axial chapel. The designer was Paul Durand, who published the program in "Eglise de Saint-Père à Chartres; explication de la nouvelle décoration exécutée dans la chapelle de la Sainte-Vierge," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Mémoires*, III (1863), 298-320. In 1872 Abbot Vassard donated five more new windows to the nave aisle. The 19th c. glass was not removed with the medieval glass during World War II; traces of it remained in the church in the early 1960's.

[3] Dossier I (see footnote 1) contains the documentation for this restoration. The original estimate was presented by Darcy, for 36,000 fr. The restoration was finished by Brunet and cost 69,840 fr.

and repainting of old glass, it was Brunet's expressed intention to (a) remove all nonconforming fragments from the clerestory windows[1] and place them in windows of the ambulatory, and to (b) replace in Bays 22-23 of the nave the panels which had been removed from them in the seventeenth century, which he discovered glazed into several lower apsidal windows.[2] By 1918 when Chartres was bombed and the glass taken down and stored in the cathedral crypt, the entire clerestory had been repaired and restored as accurately as possible to its original position in the church.

In 1936 attention was finally turned to the triforium.[3] A restoration was undertaken by Charles Lorin and Delange. The sixteenth century debris from the triforium apse was taken

---

[1] We are indebted to the restorers for several publications of the 'nonconforming debris:' (a) Charles Lorin, "Médaillon du XIIe siècle dans l'église Saint-Pierre de Chartres," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, *Le Cinquantenaire*, I (1906), 508-14 (panel now in Lorin studio); (b) Comte Paul Biver and Edmond Socard, "Le Vitrail civil au XIVe siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, LXXVII (1913), 258-64 (present location of debris unknown).

p.35

[2] See footnote 1, p. 35 . Dossier I includes the following pertinent documents, both by Brunet: "Croquis anexés au devis de proposition mise en état Vitraux du choeur du 25 Fevrier 1907," and "Devis approuvé le 27 avr. 1908."

[3] Dossier 3 (1926-45) covers the 1936 triforium restorations. Dossier 2 contains no documentation on glass.

~~48~~ 44

to the Cluny Museum, and two panels of it were included in the 1937 stained glass exhibition in Paris. It was replaced in the church after the war.[1]

From 1939-46 the glass of Saint-Père was again removed to the cathedral crypt and the Tour-Blanche in Dordogne. It survived the war intact save for the tracery panels and colored glass of Bay 13, hit by a grenade while in the packing case. The fenestration of the church, damaged by bombardment in 1944, was repaired in 1948 and in 1951-54 a complete restoration and photographing was undertaken of all the glass prior to its return to the church.[2]

New designs now fill the missing lights of Bays 23 of the nave (cf. Pls. 63d and 66) and 13 of the choir (Pl. 34c),

---

[1] A devis was presented October 23, 1940 (Dossier 3) for their return to Chartres, study and restoration. The restorer was Delange, who was also in charge of removing the glass in 1939.

[2] Dossier 4 (1946-) contains a series of requests for funds for the restoration. Jean Trouvelot was the architecte-en-chef and Francois Lorin of Chartres the glass restorer. See specifically devises No. 885/1946; No. 202/50; No. 25/1951; and "Compterendu de l'Inspection faite du 18 au 23 aout 1953 dans le département d'Eure-et-Loir" by M.E. Herpe, the inspector-general of the Monuments Historiques. The Archives photographiques contain photo-montages made from the photographs taken then, in all cases but one (Bay 26) after the restorations. Bays 24 and 28 are available before and after restoration. The montage numbers are: apse 59N-315 to 59N320; choir 59P-394 to 59P-398 and 60-H-70 to 60-H-74; nave 60-N-107 to 60-N-118.

49
45

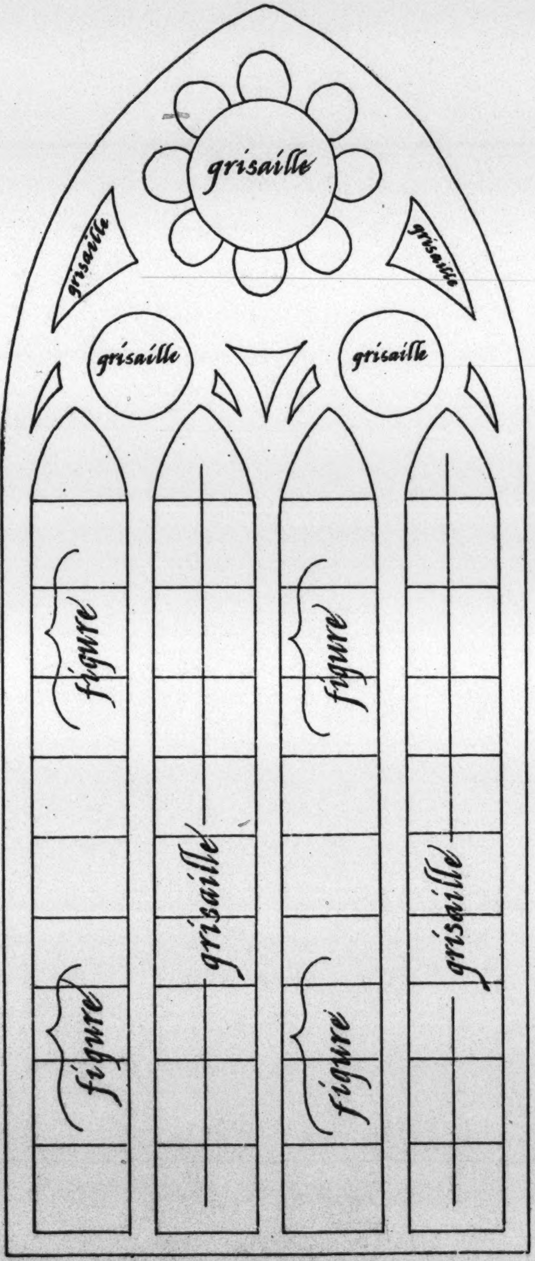
as well as other isolated locations, some of the formerly blank tympana (Pl. 63d and 78b) and the roses of the nave bays (Pls. 62a, 63d, 69, 74, 83a).[1] With the exception of the choir figures, which adapt medieval cartoons,[2] the new glass, by François Lorin, is intended to harmonize in color with the medieval designs but to be easily recognizable as modern work. The church is fortunate to be in the competent hands of a skilled and tasteful artist.

In spite of the vicissitudes of time, men and war the clerestory windows of Saint-Père de Chartres represent an unusually complete series of medieval glazing, in surprisingly good condition considering their number and the state of neglect into which they have fallen for long periods of their history. As examples of a regional school and also a time of flux in the theory and technique of stained glass design they are a very valuable monument for the medieval historian of art. As always in approaching such a monument the student must first question, "How much is genuine?" At Saint-Père the amount is pleasingly high.

---

[1] Colored roses were planned for all the narrative bays of the nave and have been installed for Bays 22, 23 and 26 (1967).

[2] The glass of Bay 13 was in large part destroyed by a hand grenade thrown through one of the windows of the cathedral crypt while the glass was stored there during the war. The restorer, François Lorin, made use of the old glass that was still usable--from the lower portions of the bay, mostly--and of old photographs and the designs of other choir bays. His design for the bay does not copy the original one, however, which was not available to him. See photograph from collection of Jean Lafond (Arch. phot. 196401) (Pl. 34b) and earlier photograph of the bay (Arch. phot. 193492) (Pl. 34a); also drawing in Olivier Merson, *Les Vitraux* (Paris, 1894), p. 75 (fig. 38)(right lower figure of Bay 13) (Pl. 35b).


grisaille
grisaille
grisaille
grisaille
grisaille
figure
figure
grisaille
grisaille
figure
figure

Format of Bays 8-17 (Choir)

width dimensions vary.

Fig. 2

Saint-Père Choir Prophets: Cartoons

Cartoon A	Bay 8	- used twice (left figures)
	Bay 9	- used once (top left--middle panel now a restoration)
Cartoon B	Bay 8	- used once (bottom right)
	Bay 9	- used twice (upper right--new head panel)
Cartoon C	Bay 10	- twice (Daniel and Enoch)
Cartoon D	Bay 10	- once (Habbakuk)
	Bay 11	- once (Ezekiel)
Cartoon E	Bay 10	- once (upper right)
	Bay 11	- once (upper right)
Cartoon F	Bay 11	- twice (left)
Cartoon G	Bay 12	- once (top right)
	Bay 13	- once (top right)
Cartoon H	Bay 12	- once (top left)
	Bay 13	- once (Balaam, top left)
	Bay 17	- once (bottom left)
Cartoon I	Bay 14	- twice (left)
Cartoon J	Bay 14	- twice (right)
Cartoon K	Bay 15	- twice (left)
Cartoon L	Bay 15	- twice (right)
Cartoon M	Bay 13	- once (right bottom)
	Bay 16	- twice (bottom right, top right)
Cartoon N	Bay 13	- once (bottom left)
	Bay 16	- once (bottom left)
Cartoon O	Bay 12	- once (bottom left)
	Bay 16	- once (top left)
	Bay 17	- once (top left)
Cartoon P	Bay 12	- once (Noel, bottom right)
	Bay 17	- once (bottom right--middle panel is modern)
Cartoon Q	Bay 17	- once (top right)
	This cartoon is a close variant of Cartoon G	
Cartoon R	Bay 8	- once (top right)
Cartoon S	Bay 9	- once (bottom left)

✓ panel is

~~55~~
49

CHAPTER II

CHOIR: STYLE

The ten windows in the clerestory of the choir at Saint-Père are, from a stylistic point of view, the most challenging in the church. They comprise Bays 8-17, according to the numbering of the Archives photographiques, five windows on each side of the choir clerestory. The glass contained in these five huge bays exhibits a combination of color and grisaille unique in medieval glazing, in which an equal number of completely colored figure lancets and almost completely uncolored grisaille ones alternate vertically around the choir. As each window contains four lancets, the combination becomes, left to right: color-grisaille-color-grisaille. The upper tracery lights are glazed in grisaille. Grisaille also fills the triforium which underlines the clerestory.

The tracery of each bay is designed as two lancets, each divided by a mullion and surmounted by a roundel with pierced spandrels (see fig. 2). The space above the two 'divided lancets' is filled by a large lobed rose, pierced spandrels to either side, and a pierced triangle below.

Much of the choir glazing seems to predate its architecture. Unfortunately, no documentation exists for either the glazing or the building campaigns. The architecture of the choir triforium and clerestory, discussed in Chapter I,[1] can be dated ca. 1260-70. As the stylistic evidence is rather complex, I propose to suggest a date for the choir glazing in the following manner. First, I shall describe and attempt to place in groups the evident stylistic variations in the choir glazing. I shall then discuss matters of general development in thirteenth century stained glass, such as grisaille design, changes in the tones and balance of color, the combination of color and grisaille, figure framing devices and inscription style. In each case the goal will be the placement of the Saint-Père work in its proper milieu ca. 1245. Finally, I shall attempt to buttress my suggested dating by a hypothetical sequence of events at Saint-Père during the two middle quarters of the thirteenth century.

The glazing of the choir windows, although of a homogeneous pattern maintained through the entire choir, falls into three stylistic groups. The first and earliest group is the lancet glass--both color and grisaille--of Bays 8-13 and Bays 16-17, comprising eight of the ten choir windows (see numbered plan, fig. 1). The second is the glass--color and

---

[1] See Chapter I.

51

grisaille--of the remaining two windows, i.e., Bays 14 and 15. And the last group, more difficult to classify because of its mediocre condition, is the grisaille glazing of most of the choir triforium and large parts of the clerestory tracery lights as well. The date of the last two groups could well be contemporary but the first group falls well before them.

We are attempting, therefore, to compare three groups of glazing from two campaigns: an earlier group comprising a large amount of colored glass and a smaller amount of grisaille;[1] a later group consisting of a very small amount of color and grisaille of a high quality; and another later group of rather mediocre grisaille. Let us deal with the comparison of grisaille styles first.

The function of grisaille glazing was undergoing a fundamental revision in the middle two quarters of the thirteenth

---

fn. 1, p. 52

[1] The amount of grisaille is less because only four of the eight early windows retain their antique grisaille lancets. See footnote 1 , p. 56 . Almost all the colored glass, on the other hand, remains. The only exception is Bay 13, an old photograph of which (Arch. phot. 196401 B11641) preserves the original designs (Pl. 34b). The modern glass, adapted from other figure designs in the choir, is the work of François Lorin after World War II, and succeeds to an admirable degree in both blending with and distinguishing itself from the medieval glass around it (Pl. 34c).

century. For various reasons--chiefly economic necessity and the desire for more light in church interiors[1]--glaziers began to experiment with various ways not only of employing grisaille alone and in combination with color but also of lightening the grisaille design itself. From about 1230 to 1300, grisaille changed from crosshatched, idealized and centralized patterns[2] to continuous, naturalistic and clear-grounded ones. The use of bosses was developed to emphasize and give accent to the panel arrangement. Leading became more regular, although the panel division was often strongly maintained by a pattern known as 'bulging' the quarries at the corners of the panel and around the boss in the center. A trellis pattern often was painted parallel to such leads. Clear grounds replaced crosshatching. The desire for greater naturalism produced oak leaves and clover to replace the ancient palmettes. And the device of a central stem running vertically through the panels of a lancet was instigated in

---

fn. 1, p. 79

[1] See footnote 1 , p. 79 , especially Lafond, "Normandie," pp. 320, 322.

[2] Arnold's 'Herba Benedicta.' See Hugh Arnold, Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France, 2nd ed. (London, 1939), pp. 165-66.

[3] The ultimate development of leading into absolutely regular quarries came into its own with the advent of the silver stain technique in the fourteenth century.

place of the older self-sufficient centripetal panel designs. These features broke into traditional grisaille design one by one during the mid-thirteenth century and no real order of precedence can be established for their adoption.[1] Examples can be found of almost every possible combination of the old and new. Naturalistic foliage was inserted into the older centripetal panel design, for instance,[2] and the new continuous trellis and central stem systems were employed with idealized palmette leaves[3] and/or with a crosshatched ground.

---

[1] It is my feeling that naturalistic foliage first became common in Normandy, but this impression may be caused by the greater number of examples there or, at any rate, of published examples (thanks to the tireless efforts of M. Jean Lafond). The grisaille at Saint-Germer-de-Fly (Oise), dated 1259-66 (see Pl. 141), and that of Sainte-Vaubourg (Ardennes, near Rouen), consecrated in 1264, as well as the grisailles probably originating from the chateau of Rouen, all include some naturalistic foliage in otherwise transitional designs. See Lafond, "Normandie," pp. 328ff., 340, and n. 1, and illustrations on pp. 330 and 341. See Viollet-le-duc, Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle, IX (Paris, 1868), 453 and pl. 43 of article "Vitrail," for drawing of Saint-Germer; note that pl. 44 on p. 454, also from Saint-Germer, has a different transitional design without naturalistic foliage. Arnold, p. 166, proposes that naturalistic foliage was used first in England.

[2] Sainte-Vaubourg (Ardennes, near Rouen), consecrated 1264. See Lafond, "Normandie," pp. 328ff., and footnote 1, this page.

[3] Four panels in the Cluny Museum, probably from chateau at Rouen, ca. 1260 (Lafond, "Normandie," p. 337; illustrated in La revue des arts, V (1955), pls. on p. 181 and opp. p. 182). A primitive central stem (which does not yet grow only upwards) is combined with formalized leafage, quite irregularly bulged leading at the corners, all on a clear uncrosshatched ground. A very nice transitional example.

The latter case, as a matter of fact, is just what occurs in the two later windows (Bays 14-15) of the Saint-Père choir (Pls. 37 and 39), and it is precisely the indecision and transitional aura of the design which dates it ca. 1260-70.[1]

The grisaille in the tracery lights of the Saint-Père choir shows quite different experiments of a similarly transitional nature. Grounds are occasionally clear (Pl. 21b-c). Some of the roses and spandrels are leaded in regular lozenges. A few spandrels are filled with a continuous foliated stem. The painting in the tracery lights is much heavier and more pedestrian than that of the lancet grisaille in Bays 14-15, but the temerity with which new features are introduced stamps both groups as contemporary, ca. 1260-70.

The grisaille of the triforium below[2] sings the same tune, albeit rather weakly. These panels are in appalling condition (see Pl. 21a). Many of them as they stand are largely inept, old restorations, and the genuine bits which remain are usually in a state of deterioration.[1] The painting, when old, is dull, tight and hard. In spite of the mediocre workmanship, however, the same hesitant search for new formulae which can be seen in the clerestory grisaille of Bays 14 and 15 and in many of the clerestory tracery lights also is evident here. The grounds are usually clear. Leading varies from patterns 'bulged' to varying extents to absolutely regular quarrying. The foliage, although almost always still of the older idealized type, often sprouts from a new central stem. Most of the roundels in the triforium still maintain a centripetal design--this will begin to break down by ca. 1300 in the apse--but some combine it with more naturalistic foliage than previously. What can one say about such a hodgepodge? Only that the artist, in this case a rather unskilled journeyman, was tempted by the same desire for stylistic experiment as his more talented coworkers in the clerestory, in a campaign of glazing which dates ca. 1260-70.

---

[1] Very similar grisaille can be seen among the tremendous variety of patterns at Saint-Urbain at Troyes (ca. 1266-72) (see Pl. 100). It occurs in some panels at Saint-Germer-de-Fly (1259-66) as well, where, unlike Saint-Père, naturalistic foliage is found. See Viollet-le-duc, p. 454, pl. 44, for illustration; and my footnote 1, p. 53 .

p. 53

[2] The remains of grisaille in the apse triforium are considerably more advanced--an exquisitely painted naturalistic foliage--and probably date with the glass of the apse clerestory, after 1297 (see Pl. 10).

---

[1] It is difficult to account for the extremely dilapidated state of the choir triforium windows. They are protected on the outside by the aisle roofing and inside by a balustrade and arcading. Presumably none of the marauders who for various reasons did their mischief in the church through the centuries ever gained access to the triforium, which can be reached only from an upper story of the western Romanesque tower. Yet many of the triforium panels are dull copies of uncertain date and almost all the rest of the glazing is weathering badly, bulging, losing its paint. There is some evidence that even in the fourteenth century the monks wished to replace it. Panels in the style of the lovely ca. 1300 grisaille of the apse triforium are found installed in Bay 8 and Bays 16-17 of the choir triforium. These panels have no borders; the apse triforium lancets are sufficiently wider than those of the choir to necessitate the cutting off of the filet borders:

Bay 1 - 93 cm.
apse Bays 2, 3, 4, 5 - 90-91 cm.
Bay 6 - 10 cm.

Bays 16-17 of choir - 71-77 cm.
(choir bays vary--see clerestory measurements, footnote 2, p. 91).

fn. 2, p. 91

Bay 8 of the choir, which lies directly adjacent to the apse, may well have received its replacements (the top panels of the two right lancets) when the apse triforium was glazed. The fragments of later grisaille in Bay 16, on the other hand, closely resemble those which remain in the partially blind Bay 7 of the hemicycle, and indeed may be the glass removed from there when it was walled up to accommodate the tourelle d'escalier added ca. 1350. Bay 7 was originally glazed with the rest of the apse.

So much for the choir grisaille which is contemporary with its architectural setting. The beautiful panels in the grisaille lancets of Bays 10-13[1] predate the period of transition which is evidenced by the grisaille described above. Almost completely uncolored, on a crosshatched ground, with patterned leads and palmettes forming self-contained centripetal patterns repeated panel after panel, the grisailles of Bays 10-13 (Pls. 21d and 28b) are lovely examples of a fairly widespread mid-century type such as can be found at Auxerre and Troyes cathedrals (Pls. 91-95).[1] Its sources can be seen clearly in such windows as the grisailles of Bourges[2] and that of the westernmost bays of the choir of

---

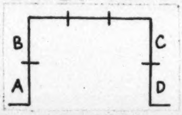
[1] One can only presume that all of the choir windows but the narrower Bays 14-15 were originally filled with a similar type of early grisaille design. See footnote 1, p. 51 . The date of its removal from all but the present four windows is uncertain, but it predates this century and presumably the Revolution as well, since no work of any consequence was carried out on the glass during the 19th century. Since some of the remaining old work is now so devitrified as to present a very dark appearance it is a likely assumption that the other panels were removed to obtain more light, probably at the same time as the replacement of the colored diaper in the nave Bays 20-21 by clear glazing (late 17th or 18th c.).

p. 51

---

[1] In the lateral walls of the Virgin chapel of Auxerre are two broad grisaille lancets (B and C) and two others combining figures with grisaille (A and D; the familiar Hubericus Presbiter window is A).

A-D →



The clerestory contains a variety of grisaille patterns, some of which are heavily color-spotted. The grisaille at Troyes is in the Virgin chapel. Illustrations of the Auxerre grisaille can be found in Charles Cahier-Arthur Marie Martin, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges*, I, Planche de grisailles G, No. 1 (1841-44) and Viollet-le-duc, p. 450, pl. 40. The Troyes grisaille is shown in Viollet-le-duc, pp. 451-52, pls. 41-42, and in Charles Fichot, *Statistique monumentale du département de l'Aube*, III, figs. 152-53 (Troyes, 1894).

[2] Arch. phot. Bays XL (upper ambulatory of nave) and VE (clerestory, south nave). Both have wide colored borders. Bay XL: dessicated palmettes on crosshatched ground; straight irons; vertically undulating filets (in alternating half-circles, not extended vertically as later); beginning of trelliswork; design repeated panel by panel. Bay XL: more richly colored but also designed in repeating panel pattern, trelliswork, crosshatched ground.

Reims.[1] In fact, the Saint-Père designs seem to be the logical enlargement and compartmentalization of such patterns.[2] A date in the mid-1240's, almost exactly contemporary with Auxerre and Troyes, seems very likely.

A comparison of the Saint-Père choir grisailles with those of Tours (Pls. 108, 109) a closely related monument of the Western school, underlines these conclusions. The grisaille in the two clerestory windows of the Tours choir (Canons of Loches window and the Eight Bishops window, Bays 5 and 11),[3] dating ca. 1257-70, places stylistically between the two Saint-Père grisaille types. It is crosshatched with a centripetal pattern and idealized foliage, like the earlier Saint-Père style of Bays 10-13, but the leading has become a quasi-regular quary pattern, 'bulged' at the center and corners of each panel. It is a logical intermediary to the more regular trellis-work and central stems of Saint-Père Bays 14-15.

---

[1] Arch. phot. Bays M, 2M, OA and 2-OA. Wide borders, palmettes, crosshatched ground, straight irons. [The grisaille illustrated in VF, p. 30 (turned 90°) is a much later design, with naturalistic foliage and a central stem.]

[2] It does not seem too farfetched, therefore, to look to the Bourges and Reims windows for help in a hypothetical reconstruction of the original arrangement of the Saint-Père grisaille, as will be done later in this chapter.

[3] For illustrations see drawings in Jean-Jacques Bourassé and F.G.M. Manceau, Verrières du choeur de l'église métropolitaine de Tours (Paris and Tours, 1849), pls. V and XI.

In dealing with grisaille at some length I have attempted to establish two periods for the Saint-Père choir glazing: ca. 1260-70 for the choir triforium, for Bays 14 and 15, and for all of the choir tracery lights; and ca. 1240-45 for the lancets of Bays 10-13. In extending the discussion to aspects of the colored glazing, I shall try to establish that the lancets of Bays 16-17 join the ca. 1245 group, and that, excepting the two later Bays (14 and 15), all the choir lancets have been reused in their present position.

The first piece of evidence for a date in the forties for the choir lancets is provided by the few inscriptions found therein. Unfortunately only a very few prophets are singled out for identification. Of the thirty-two figures contained in the eight windows under consideration, only five carry identifying inscriptions: "Ezekeel" in Bay 11, "Abbacuc," Daniel and "Enop" (?) in Bay 10, and "Noel"(?) in Bay 12 (Pl. 32).[1] The letters are broad, blocklike and widely-spaced, a

---

✓ 6th
✓ same

[1] A 6th inscription in the same style (Balaam) barely can be discerned in the ca. 1905 photograph of Bay 13 (see Pl. 34b), top left figure (Arch. phot. 196401, photo from coll. Lafond). The original colored glazing of Bay 13 was largely destroyed in World War II.

~~47~~
60

mixture of capitals (angular majuscules) and uncials (rounded majuscules). The most decorated letters of the few included at Saint-Père are the E, which is rounded and occasionally closed on the right, and the A, which is blocklike, sometimes has a V-shaped crossbar and sometimes a more or less strongly emphasized horizontal bar at the top. U is rendered as V.

Medieval lettering[1] employed capitals, uncials and minuscules (small letters derived from majuscules). Uncials appeared ca. 800 and gradually increased in use until the achievement of a complete uncial alphabet, or Gothic majuscule, commonly known as 'Lombardic.' The Saint-Père nave windows, ca. 1300-10, contain many beautiful examples of 'Lombardic' script. Not in general use until the last quarter of the thirteenth century, 'Lombardic' was completely superceded by the middle of the next century in northern Europe by Gothic minuscule or 'Black-letter,' the alphabet still used in German printed books. The letters of the Saint-Père choir inscriptions in question are largely capitals, E being the only consistent true uncial.

Equally important are the blocklike proportions and wide spacing. Such well-spaced and undecorated lettering is extremely rare in glazing after 1250. Common in the twelfth century, it can be seen at Saint-Remi[1] at the end of the century; at Chartres and Bourges; at Reims in the Henri de Braine window (1227-40); and in the choirs of Auxerre and Troyes cathedrals (both in the 1240's).[2] The Le Mans choir inscriptions, which date ca. 1250-60,[3] are becoming more cramped in comparison, although similar in some letter forms and in general proportions of letters. At Amiens the apse window of 1269 has blocklike letters now in an irregular, cramped grouping, and the Sts. Edward and Edmund window of ca. 1280 in the same cathedral has an inscription clearly on its way to the vertical emphasis of the 'Lombardic' and 'Black-letter' styles. The inscription in the Canons of Loches window at Tours, ca. 1260-70, exhibits similarly cramped, elongated and irregular lettering.[4] Saint-Urbain at Troyes (1266-77) has many beautiful transitional inscriptions

---

[1] The following paragraph is paraphrased from: British Museum, A Guide to the Medieval Room, (Oxford, 1907), pp. 181-83.

---

[1] VF, fig. 79, p. 108.

[2] For a discussion of the Auxerre dating see footnote 2 , p. 84 and 1 , p. 86 ; for Troyes see footnote 1 , p. 72 and 1 , p. 75 .

2, p. 84 ✓
1, p. 86
1, p. 72 ✓
1, p. 75

[3] See VF, pp. 155-56, for Le Mans dating.

[4] The C is closed as well as the E. The T and H are now curved and thickened in the middle of the vertical strokes. N is still in blocklike capital, however. See also the Tree of Jesse window, illustrated in Henry Kraus, The Living Theatre of Medieval Art (Bloomington, 1967), p. 83.

~~64~~
62

(see Pls. 101 ff.). The letters are beginning to slant and curve, they are longer and narrower in proportion and they are often thickened on the vertical and thinned on the horizontal.[1] Compare also the 'Lombardic' inscriptions of such windows as the panels from the chateau of Rouen, the window from Saint-Germain-Village (Eure) and the Templar Jaques le Clavier panel from Sainte-Vaubourg, designs of the 1260's[2] and all closer to a 'Lombardic' alphabet than the early prophet names of Saint-Père.

---

[1] I have not cited the Ace le Tort window at Rouen because its dating is problematical. [G. Ritter, Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Rouen (Cognac, 1926), No. 14 (pls. XXXII-IV).] The grisaille seems contemporary with that of most of the Saint-Père choir, that is to say in the 1240's, but the will of the gentleman donating a chaplaincy to this chapel dates 1266 (Arch. Scene Inf. G3545, according to Ritter, p. 51, n. 7). The inscription is transitional to 'Lombardic' in style, with a U rounded and closed at the top. Whether it dates shortly after the death of Ace le Tort or somewhat later is a matter of speculation. See Jean Lafond, "Normandie," p. 336 and footnote 1. He makes the tentative suggestion of a date nearer 1300 for the figures and inscription and points out that the grisaille is much earlier in style, probably in the 1240's or even before.

Footnote 2.

[2] Lafond, "Normandie," illustrations pp. 332, 335, 338. Notice the tremendous variety of transitional patterns in these three grisailles.

Most telling, however, is the comparison with the inscriptions of the Sées clerestory.[1] Sées is a monument, like Saint-Père, of the Western school of glasspainting. Its choir windows have been dated with precision by Lafond ca. 1270-80,[2] or approximately contemporary with the new glass designed for the narrow Bays 14-15 of the Saint-Père choir (which have no inscriptions). Uncials and capitals are combined at Sées, but the balance is clearly tipped in favor of the former. In the "Mestre Osmont" inscription[3] (northwesternmost choir bay, Pl. 123), for example, the first T is a capital but the second is an uncial and so are the M and N. The letters are vertically stressed and compressed in spacing. Saint-Père is unquestionably a considerably earlier form and a date before 1250, that is to say immediately preceding the inscriptions of another Western

---

[1] The inscriptions in the apsidal chapel are true 'Lombardic,' slightly later, more cramped, and more markedly vertical. See, for example, the 'Amicus dei' window [discussed in Lafond, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Sées," Congrès archéologique, III (1953), 72-3].

[2] Lafond, "Sées," esp. p. 61; Lafond, "Normandie," p. 349.

[3] For illustration, see Normandie monumental, IV, part 1, fig. p. 117 (1893-99).

~~87~~
64

school monument, Le Mans,[1] seems undeniable (cf. Pls. 105 ff.).

A similar conclusion appears from a study of color and how it is used in the Saint-Père choir. All of the early colored lancets (see Pls. 24a, 28a, 46) are dominated by a heavy predominance of blue. It is the only color in use for the figure grounds. Red is unquestionably a secondary color in these windows. Brown and dark green are prevalent in the coloration of the figures themselves, as well as a dark mustard yellow and a muted and rather opaque white. Flesh tones are dark. The general effect is rich and glowing, but also rather quiet in the presence of so many receding tones. In contrast, the glazing of Bays 14-15 shows a much more even balance of red and blue, clearer flesh tones, less muted yellow and white, and a very light clear green in abundance,

---

[1] The fragmentary glass now located in the apse at Saint-Quentin (Aisne), which has been dated variously, sometimes as late as the second half of the 13th c., also exhibits well-spaced blocklike lettering, with U as V and a blocklike strongly over-stroked A. The east end of Saint-Quentin was ready 1226, and the transept in 1257. I cannot believe that the glass in question postdates 1250, and a date about a decade or fifteen years earlier would be more likely. Other features of the style substantiate an earlier dating: the borders, although of fleurs-de-lis, are wide, a rarity after mid-century; the figure canopies are almost primitive in their simplicity; the banding of the draperies hardly undulates at all. These 'expressive, brutal' figures differ from the classicism of St. Marcel (Bay E, ca. 1230-35, see VF, p. 123 and col. pl. XIII) more in spirit than in date.

~~19~~ 65

a green found nowhere else in the choir (see Pl. 40a, upper figures). J.-J. Gruber, in his valuable treatise on glass technique during the period 1270-1328, has singled out just such features as coming into importance then: "l'éclaircissement de la gamme," the more frequent use of yellow and green, and the abandonment of neutral figures against a strong blue ground, with the subsequent result of a more equal balance in importance of all colors.[1] If his date of 1270 be taken, then, as a convenient dividing line, the four colored lancets of Bays 14-15 would clearly fall after and the rest of the lancets of the choir well before.

Two other stylistic features at Saint-Père--the framing devices employed for the choir figures and the combination of colored glazing with grisaille--are of particular importance and interest for the progress of clerestory design in the thirteenth century. A broad view of clerestory glazing development will perhaps be useful in assessing the place of Saint-Père therein. From the late twelfth century, clerestory lights were customarily filled with large single figures under some sort of architectural niche or canopy, originally a simple framework of colonnettes surmounted by highly conventionalized forms of gables, turrets, and so on.[1] It is a design for upper windows probably as old as the medallion style for lower ones. Numerous examples of single figures framed in such a way are to be found in all the great glazing series of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.[2]

---

[1] Jean-Jacques Gruber, "Quelques aspects," p. 73; the quoted phrase comes from the same author, VF, p. 66.

When the shapes of clerestory lights began to widen in the thirteenth century, the problem arose of how to adapt the large single figure pattern, attractive for its legibility as well as its logical relationship of one figure to one light, to the new broad spaces available. In large doublet-and-rose windows, the space in each lancet became too wide to accommodate only one figure, even when enclosed by by a wide border. The transept clerestories at Chartres (1220-35) show two designs developed from the older single figure idea: (1) a single figure now enclosed not in one but in, as it were, two wide borders; and (2) a pair of large figures side by side, much in the manner of pairs of ancient disputing philosophers, each one usually under his own canopy.[1] The former solution was elaborated in the Auxerre choir (Pl. 93) where the inner 'wide border' is usually of grisaille.[2] The problem was soon outgrown, however, as the rapid advances in tracery design during the first half of the thirteenth century had by ca. 1250 largely eliminated broad doublet lancets and in their places presented glaziers with the equally taxing problem of groups of tall, narrow lights separated by mullions.[3]

---

[1] See L. Ottin, *Le Vitrail* (Paris, 1896), n.d., p. 33, who proposes that the representation of a figure before a church portal was originally intended, the figure usually appearing against a patterned ground which Ottin chooses to identify as the representation of a damask or tapestry such as those hung in church interiors. See also Emile Mâle, "La Peinture sur verre en France," in A. Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, II, part 1 (Paris, 1906), 394 and footnote 1,

footnote 1.

[2] See the Chartres nave, illustrated in Delaporte, III, pls. CLXXXIII-CXVI and CCLXIV-CCLXXII. For Bourges, see illustrations in Marcel Aubert, *Stained Glass of the XIIth and XIIIth Centuries from French Cathedrals* (London, 1947), pls. I, II and XVII; and the drawings in Cahier-Martin, I, pls. XVIIff. (pp. 281-300). For Canterbury, the seated prophets originally from the choir and east transept clerestories, see Bernard Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury* (London, 1949), pls. 2-7, and pl. II.

These groupings adapted themselves better than is generally supposed to the traditional clerestory design of one figure/one lancet. After a very brief period of experimentation, the well-known so-called 'fourteenth century formula' emerged: a horizontal row of canopied figures, one to a lancet,[1] stretched across the great bays, with grisaille filling the rest of the space above and below.[2] It is by now well-proven that the invention of this "formule appelée à un grand avenir"[3] cannot be credited to the fourteenth century itself but falls closer to 1265.[1] Such designs will be called 'band windows' in the present discussion, Grodecki's apt descriptive phrase "la formule de 'litre'"[2] defying English translation.

---

[1] Delaporte, III. For double borders, see pls. CXCII-IV, CXCVI-II; for pairs of large figures, pls. CXCV, CCV, CCVI, CCVIII (St. Denis giving oriflamme).

[2] For this innovation in the use of grisaille see discussion

[3] The old solution of one figure/one lancet was retained for a long time in the newer pierced triforia, as the handsome series at Troyes (heavily restored) and Tours cathedrals testify.

---

[1] There is reason to suppose that in the few places where wide borders were retained as late as the 1260's--Le Mans and Saint-Urbain de Troyes, for example--they were not purely a retardataire element but rather a device to enable the glazier to employ the one figure/one lancet design. The lancets in these churches, although divided by mullions, would still have been too broad for such a design otherwise.

[2] Windows occasionally grew tall enough for two such horizontal rows, but the formula remains the same. York Minster nave has several aisle windows with two rows (Peter de Dene, Bellfounders' and de la Warde windows, for example, dating ca. 1306-10). In the clerestory the second row is made of heraldic emblems. See Arnold, pp. 169-74, pl. XVI and top right sketch of pl. XVII; also Rev. Harrison, The Painted Glass of York (London, 1927), p. 60. Although the horizontal band customarily appears at mid-height in the window, in the Saint-Urbain clerestory it appears at the top; and at Cologne (ca. 1295-1320), Evreux (the Harcourt window, ca. 1327) and later at Rouen (Arnold, p. 190) it is at the bottom. See Arnold, pp. 190-91 and Male, in Michel, p. 395.

rows

[3] Grodecki in VF, p. 156.

The years preceding the crystallization of the band window formula, roughly from 1245-65, were years of confusion and experimentation as far as clerestory glazing design is concerned. The quick adoption and brief vogue of the revitalized medallion style in the wake of the Sainte-Chapelle, especially for high windows for which it is definitely unsuited, is more easily understood in such circumstances. The choir of Tours (ca. 1257-70) shows both solutions side by side. Beautiful but largely illegible medallion windows of strong Parisian influence adjoin two bays of precocious glazing in the new horizontal banding formula (Pls. 108-09).[1]

---

[1] Jean Lafond, "Le vitrail du XIVe siècle en France," in Louise Lefrancois-Pillion, *L'art du XIVe siècle en France* (Paris, 1954), p. 188; and Marcel Aubert in *VF*, p. 165. Lafond has documented the Sées cathedral windows ca. 1267-80; see Lafond, "Sées," pp. 61ff. Other dates for early examples fall within the same period: Tours 1257-70; Saint-Germer-de-Fly ca. 1259-66; Saint-Urbain de Troyes, ca. 1265-77; Clermont-Ferrand, probably ca. 1273 (see Henry du Ranquet, *Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Clermont-Ferrand* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1932), pp. 271ff.); Beauvais, where six figures of the apse predate the 1284 disaster. Lafond, "Normandie," pp. 356-57 and p. 357 n. 3, suggests that the formula of horizontal banding emanated from Paris.

[2] Grodecki in *VF*, p. 158b. I prefer 'band window' to 'belt window,' which has also been used (Mary Young, *Singing Windows* [A World's Work Children's Book], [Kingswood, 1962], p. 22). There is no generally accepted scholarly term. Arnold continually speaks of the 'system;' Baker most recently calls them, rather imprecisely, 'Figure and canopy windows,' (Herbert Read, John Baker and Alfred Lammer, *English Stained Glass* [London, 1960], p. 89). Lafond: "ce qu'on appelle. . .la formule de composition du vitrail du XIVe siècle" ("Sées," p. 61); "la formule nouvelle," ("Normandie," p. 355); "la formule que l'on considère comme caractéristique du XIVe siècle" ("Normandie," p. 323).

The glass in the Saint-Père choir--both the early series of choir figures and the later glazing of Bays 14-15--falls within this unsettled period. The solutions at Saint-Père to the problems of the framing of large clerestory figures and of the combination of color with grisaille can be called almost unique. First, let us look at the solutions to the problem of the framing of large figures in the two groups of choir glass.

---

[1] Aubert, VF, pp. 163-65, has classified the two movements as 'traditional' (followers of the Sainte-Chapelle) and 'progressive' (large figures under canopies). It seems to me, however, that a fairly good case could be made the other way round. The Sainte-Chapelle style for clerestories was definitely not traditional; even the relatively few medallion windows in the Chartres clerestory are enlarged and simplified in design. The use of large figures under canopies is likewise no 'progressive' step, as it follows a pattern traditional from the late 12th c. at least.

In all the glass except that in Bays 14-15, the figures stand one above the other, each in a narrow, greatly elongated medallion frame. The space between these medallions contains diaperwork, fleurs-de-lis, rosettes and palmettes from the standard repertory of filler designs (see Pls. 23, 29, 33, 45). In Bays 14-15, on the other hand (Pls. 37 and 39), the figures appear in niches, complete with gable and architectural motifs above and rather large bases beneath their feet. Except for these elaborate bases, which are extremely precocious for the thirteenth century,[1] the canopied figures of Bays 14-15[2] hardly can be distinguished from contemporary dated examples in the Western school, such as the aforementioned two windows at Tours, or the series from Sées cathedral (Pls. 118 ff.).

The medallion figures of the rest of the choir are quite another story. Large clerestory figures framed in medallions occur elsewhere, as far as I know, in only two other places: (1) in a few bays of Troyes cathedral choir, ca. 1240-50 (Pls. 96, 97);[1] and (2) in a lost panel fragment originally from the choir of Tournai, which was in construction from 1243 and dedicated 1255.[2] Indeed the Tournai saint is framed by both an architectural dais and a medallion, the former inside the latter. In all three cases the solution may have been an original invention by a glazier confronted by the same problem. From the early thirteenth century the length of clerestory lights, as well as their width, had troubled glass designers. The seven long apsidal lancets of Chartres show a confusion of ideas--elongated single figures under canopies (the famous 'Big Angel'), enlarged and simplified medallion scenes, 'disputing' pairs under individual canopies--the whole repertoire, in fact, now presented in three superimposed rows rather than two.[1] No one solution ever crystallized, however, and the problem of how to fill long lancets plagued glaziers until the band window formula emerged ca. 1265.

---

[1] The Amiens window in the easternmost chapel of the nave, north aisle, given by Dieu Malherbe in 1296, has four standing figures with no bases at all. (Illustration in Georges Durand, *Monographie de l'église Notre-Dame cathédrale d'Amiens*, II (Paris, 1901-04), fig. 255.) The elaboration of bases became widespread only during the 14th c. The large standing saints in the Saint-Père nave and apse, dating ca. 1300-15, have no bases.

cath-

[2] Bay 15 is, to a slight degree, stylistically more advanced than Bay 14. In the latter, the bases of the upper figures have a frontal strip across the bottom, whereas in Bay 15 the piece is no longer frontal but follows the perspective slant of the base's sides.

---

[1] See Jean Lafond, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Troyes," Congrès archéologique, CXIII (1955), 29-62, esp. pp. 46-48; see also Louis Grodecki in VF, p. 140.

[2] For dating of Tournai choir 1243-55 see: Pierre Héliot, "La cathédrale de Tournai," Congrès archéologique, CXX (1962), 254-89, esp. p. 279. For the lost Tournai glass panel, see: Jean Helbig, Les Vitraux médièvaux conservés en Belgique 1200-1500, CVMA, Belgique I (Bruxelles, 1961), Annexe 2: "Vitraux détruits, disparus ou exportés au XXe siècle," p. 287 and fig. 167, also pp. 203-04 on dating of Tournai cathedral choir. Fig. 167 is a reproduction in black and white of a drawing by Capronnier which can be found in the original color in: Edmond Levy, Histoire de la peinture sur verre en Europe et particulièrement en Belgique (Bruxelles, 1860), pl. 8. See also p. 63 of Levy's essay entitled "Histoire de la peinture sur verre" in this book--the pagination of each essay is distinct--where he refers to the panel in pl. 8 as "seul débris des verrières primitives du choeur de la cathédrale de Tournai. . . ." The predominant color as indicated by Capronnier's drawing is blue, employed for both the grounds behind the figure and inside the medallion. The halo is red and the architecture above the gable predominantly yellow and red. Green is of very minor significance.

This lost panel may have been among those from the cathedral of Tournai which formed part of the collection of Baron Houtart of Monceau-sur-Sambre before World War I. It was not, however, one of the four such panels exhibited by him in 1911 in the Exposition de Charleroi, although Helbig's unfortunate phrasing might suggest it. (Helbig, CVMA Belgique I, p. 287.) See Catalogue général of the Charleroi exposition, published at Brussels, G. Van Oest, 1911, where the four exhibited panels are listed and described on p. 315, as nos. 238-41. Three of them are illustrated (and all four are reported as having been destroyed in 1940 while in the Musée de la Halle-aux-Draps in Tournai) in Helbig's valuable but difficult-to-use work: De Glasschilderkunst in België, (Antwerp, 1943), I, 113 (nos. 838-40, 842) and pls. IX and X, nos. 6, 8 and 9. The lost panel with which we are concerned, i.e., the Levy-Capronnier drawing, is listed in the same volume on p. 108 (no. 774) and pl. IX (no. 5).

√canopies

Large figures placed one over the other, each under a complete architectural dais, cannot help but disintegrate surface design into a conjunction of rather unrelated areas. This fact eventually helped spark the development of immensely elongated canopies and bases in the last years of the thirteenth century, a development which dominates the entire history of glazing thereafter up to and even including the Renaissance.[1] But preceding the development of canopies and bases, a few abortive experiments were made to achieve the same end--i.e., to alleviate the awkwardness inherent in individual daises stacked up in rows--by combining the large single figure with the medallion framework and diaper and so to unify the surface of the window without sacrificing clarity. At Saint-Père this experiment is found in its purest form, for no attempt was made to superimpose a connective 'story' on the figures such as was done at Troyes in the Wise and Foolish Virgins window (Pl. 96), for example. It must be noted, though, that the Saint-Père figures have been reused in narrower lancets, and originally may have been side by side in 'disputing pairs'[2] like the Troyes

---

[1] Delaporte, III, esp. CCXXV, gives view of them all. The 'Ange thuriféraire' is found in the first window north of the axial one, Delaporte's Bay 121.

---

[1] The idea definitely predated the introduction of the silver stain technique, as can be seen at Evron (Mayenne), where the architectural niches already are seven panels high. See Lafond in Lefrançois-Pillion, p. 212; and my Chapter V.

p.67

[2] See footnote 1, p. 67. 'Disputing pairs' occur as late as Chalons-sur-Marne (Bay 9, south nave). See Arthur Watson, The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse (Oxford, 1934), for a discussion of disputing pairs as a particularly Christian invention after classical models in which disputation is not suggested (pp. 56-57).

Bishops and Kings window (Pl. 97).[1]

It may be asked whether or not it was the influence of the Sainte-Chapelle which prompted these isolated experiments with large figures in medallion frames. Far from this being the case, I believe the reverse to be true. They very probably predate the strong Parisian influence of the late 1240's and succeeding decades. The combination of large figures and medallion frames is not absolutely unknown in earlier glazing, as can be seen from one window of framed seated prophets in the Chartres clerestory,[1] and seems a logical extension of the enlarged, simplified medallions also found there and later on a more vast scale at Troyes. The windows of Troyes contain diverse and unrelated subjects, ranging through parables, saints' lives, the Passion and contemporary history. At Troyes the basic problem was to present such narratives legibly in long narrow lancets far from the viewer's eye. Stories are often simplified, therefore, to a single figure or pair of figures, occasionally placed under primitive canopies (Theophilus legend window, southwest choir) but commonly in enlarged medallions. Therefore, the use of the medallion framework for the Bishops and Kings window and the Wise and Foolish Virgins window at Troyes is a quite understandable extension of its use in the neighboring narrative windows.

---

[1] For detailed illustrations of this window see Fichot, figs. 127-29 and 131-32. The window contains four lancets with a large rose over each pair and a third rose above. All the glass is colored. The bishops and kings are placed in large medallions in three horizontal rows, and each pair seems to 'dispute' as do the Saint-Père figures (now across a lancet of grisaille). Fichot (pp. 309-11 and p. 309 n. 1) claims that the inscriptions refer to Bishop Hervé of Troyes (1206-23), Pierre de Corbeil, archbishop of Sens (1200-22), Philippe Augustus (1180-1223) and Henri I, brother of Baudouin, Count of Flanders and Hainault, crowned in 1206 as latin emperor of Constantinople. The drapery style, however, could not predate ca. 1235 at the earliest. The choir clerestories of Troyes are customarily assigned to the reign of Bishop Nicolas de Brie (1233-69), whose arms appear in several of them. If indeed the brother of the Count of Hainault is intended, here is a tenuous link with the lost Tournai panel (see footnote 2, p. 72). See Lafond, "Troyes," p. 48 where he dates them in the 1240's, and p. 47, where he endorses the identifications of Fichot, remarking in p. 47 n. 2 that it is also the opinion of Hans Reinhardt of Bale. The 'young' emperor in the window therefore would be the young Frederick II, emperor of Germany. See also Louis Grodecki in VF, pp. 140 ff.

p. 72 ✓

Large medallions were not destined for popularity, however. Their place was quickly usurped in the 1250's and later by windows of Parisian influence. At Le Mans, which postdates the Sainte-Chapelle by up to a decade and includes many beautiful windows of the Parisian type, exactly the reverse of the Troyes designs occurs: not only large single figures but also simplified scenes are invariably placed under canopies (see the window of Sts. Gervais and Protais and St. Etienne, apse clerestory, first north). In the Tours choir, with the advent of the band window formula, the dichotomy in clerestory design--Parisian-type medallions and large figures under canopies--was formalized. The Saint-Père choir lancets fit into this picture of stylistic turbulence as rare and original transitional designs predating the influence of the Sainte-Chapelle, i.e., ca. 1240-45.

---

[1] Arnold, pl. XI, and Delaporte, III, pls. CCXXIII and CCXXV. See also the earlier and smaller examples at Canterbury (Rackham, pls. 6, 8 and 63).

The combination of grisaille and color at Saint-Père is even more unique. This combination undoubtedly dates from the pose of glass in the present architecture, ca. 1270, and therefore is virtually contemporary with the first appearance of the horizontal banding formula mentioned above. It is indeed a concurrent solution to the same problem, but one which, as it were, died aborning.

The combination at Saint-Père comprises strips of color and grisaille, vertical rather than horizontal, which alternate around the choir. Each window of four lancets is thus divided vertically into color-grisaille-color-grisaille (see fig. 2). Although drastically complicated stylistically by the reuse of so much older glass, the combination invented by the Saint-Père glazier who put the glass in its present position (and who also designed and executed the glass in Bays 14-15) was essentially similar to that of the precocious glazier of Tours. Both men combined large blocks of color with uncolored grisaille so as to accentuate their greatest contrast, at Tours horizontally (Pls. 108, 109) and at Saint-Père, almost uniquely,[1] vertically.

It may be helpful here to trace briefly the early attempts to combine color and grisaille. The basic reasons for the use of grisaille were twofold: economy and the desire for more light.[1] When it was used early in the century, it often was dressed up with a colored rose above, as in the Bourges nave and at Sens,[2] or with luxuriant colored borders.[3]

---

[1] The only other example of vertical banding of a sort, so far as I know, is at Dol cathedral. The transept ends each have one window, of four lancets, glazed with canopied standing bishops in the center two lancets and grisaille in the outer two. The lancets are very short, however, only three or four panels high (the two windows differ slightly in proportions). The grisaille may be modern. The bishops, at any rate, are dreadfully overpainted. The date of the Dol glass is customarily given as 1280-1301. See Lafond, "Normandie," p. 318.

The combination of figures with grisaille was accomplished in three ways:[4] by placing medallions in the grisaille,[1] by placing panels of canopied figures in grisaille, and by placing colored figures directly on a grisaille ground.[1] Isolated experiments in all three methods occur as early as the second quarter of the thirteenth century and all three were retained into the fourteenth century. By far the greatest body of color/grisaille glazing after ca. 1265, however, adopts the band window technique of combining the grisaille and large horizontal panel groupings of canopied figures.

---

[1] Although J.-J. Gruber would add a third, i.e., the eternal desire of artists for change, Lafond has pointed out that colored glass never lost its prestige and was almost invariably chosen for the apse and the axial chapel windows, where it would 'show.' See Lafond, "Normandie," pp. 320, 322; Lafond in Lefrancois-Pillion, p. 188; Jean-Jacques Gruber, "Quelques aspects," esp. pp. 72, 79. Grisaille, even when enriched most heavily with color, cost less than half as much as colored glass, according to Viollet-le-duc, p. 435.

[2] Illustrations (colored drawings) in Cahier-Martin, pls. XXXI and XXXIII (Bourges) and pl. de grisaille F (Sens).

[3] See Chartres window 44, the only grisaille in the cathedral contemporary with the colored windows. (Delaporte, II, pl. CXXXI.)

[4] A possible fourth, i.e., the placing of grisaille figures or medallions on a colored ground is extremely rare. The only examples of my acquaintance are three related panels in the Burrell Collection of Glasgow Art Museum (see: Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Stained and Painted Glass Burrell Collection, Glasgow, 1965, Nos. 9, 12 and 207, and color illus, p. 12).

---

[1] Medallions placed in grisaille are found at Poitiers (Arnold, pl. XV); Rouen, the east apsidal chapel in the east aisle of the north transept, ca. 1235-40 (Ritter, nos. 12, 13 and 14, but see my footnote 1, p. 62 on no. 14, the Ace le Tort window); and Saint-Urbain de Troyes, the lower apse windows (VF, pl. VIII). An early example in England is at West Horseley church (Surrey), ca. 1210-25 (illustrated in Read-Baker-Lammer, col. pl. X). The Sts. Catherine and Margaret series at Fécamp (ca. 1270-80) have been reused and their present conjunction with grisaille is probably accidental (see Lafond, "Normandie," pp. 340-44; Aubert, VF, p. 164; Madeline Harrison, "A Life of St. Edward the Confessor in Early Fourteenth Century Stained Glass at Fécamp, in Normandy," Journal of the Warburg-Courtauld Institutes, XXVI (1963), 22-24 and n. 16).

footnote 1, p. 62

The idea of placing medallions in grisaille seems to have been dropped by the 14th c. when the lower windows of the two big series in Normandy, at Evreux and Saint-Ouen, were glazed (with grisaille in combination not with medallions but with small panels of figures or scenes in niches). Scenes in niches also are found with grisaille at Amiens (Sts. Edward and Edmund window) as early as ca. 1275-80, but unfortunately in too questionable a condition and position to be considered seriously as early examples of the technique. (Durand, II, pp. 548-50.) At York, the Chapter House (1300-07) and the great nave clerestories (1315) form an exception to the rule that the medallion-grisaille combination was dead by that time. The latter contain grisaille with two horizontal bands of color, the lower band being coats of arms after the English manner and the upper being medallions, some of them reused 12th and 13th c. work. See Arnold, pp. 165-68, and Harrison, York, p. 60.

---

[1] Figures placed directly on a grisaille ground occur at isolated intervals throughout the 13th and 14th c. Examples gradually becoming more numerous. Lafond, "Normandie," pp. 321-23 and p. 321 n. 3, has published information on two early panels, the first in his own collection from the church at Prémilles (Cher), first half 13th c., and the second from Saint-Antonin-de-Sommaire (Eure), first quarter 13th c. (the former illustrated in *CVMA*, *Schweiz I*, Vergleichsabbildungen, 33). It is my own feeling that many small village churches had this type of glazing, which is both cheap and legible at a short distance. A later example is the oft-cited Sainte-Redegonde window in the church of that name in Poitiers (*VF*, fig. 122). Why is it customarily dated so late? The grisaille is clearly mid-13th c. work and the glass is in a window of the first half 13th c. Lafond, "Normandie," p. 332, has dated it more reasonably 1269, probably in cognizance of the donation in the will of Alphonse de Poitiers, brother of Saint Louis, (d. 1271) of 'une somme de cents sous poitevins pour achever le vitrail.' See Jacques Bidaut, "Eglise Sainte-Radegonde de Poitiers," *Congrès archéologique*, CIX (1951), 114, who neither states whether his phrase is actually that found in the will nor suggests which 'vitrail' was intended. There is another example of colored figures placed directly on a grisaille ground at Lyon, end of the 13th c., according to Grodecki (Louis Grodecki, *Vitraux des églises de France* [Paris, 1947], p. 25). 14th c. examples frequently cited are the famous Saint-Ouen clerestory series (1325-40), where the method reaches its apotheosis; an Assumption in the upper choir of Evreux; and at Chartres, an Annunciation in the south choir aisle (ca. 1350) and the Lapidation of Saint-Etienne in the chapel Saint-Piat. The Saint-Ouen glazing is referred to by Jean Lafond, "Etudes sur les vitraux de Saint-Ouen," in André Masson, *L'Eglise abbatiale Saint-Ouen de Rouen* (Petites monographies sur les grands édifices de France) (Paris, 1927), pp. 75-86; and Lafond in Lefrançois-Pillion, pp. 194-98; it is illustrated in Arnold, pl. XXIV. The Evreux glass is cited by Lafond, "Normandie," p. 323 and Aubert, *VF*, p. 165. For Chartres, see Lafond, "Normandie," p. 323 n. 1 and Delaporte, I, pl. LIII and text vol., p. 236. In England examples of the technique are located at Credenhill, Herefordshire (ca. 1330?); Waterperry Church, Oxon. (14th c.); and West Horsely, Surrey (before 1388). (See Read-Baker-Lammer, p. 110 and pl. 22; p. 112 and pl. 33; p. 108 and col. pl. XIX.) Baker refers to them as predecessors of the popular English 'quarry windows' of the 15th c. (pp. 90-91, 144, pl. 60).

France //

The rudiments of the technique first appear at Saint-Remi, then at Reims, Auxerre and Lyons cathedrals.[1] These early combinations of grisaille and standing figures[2] fall into two types. In the broad untraceried lancets of lower windows--the apse tribune of Saint-Remi, several windows in the choir and transept of Reims,[3] and later the Hubericus Presbiter window and its mate in the Lady Chapel at Auxerre (Pl. 91)--vertical irons divide the width of the light into three sections. Into the center vertical strip thus formed is inserted a figure or figures under primitive canopies. This colored block is surrounded by grisaille panels, above, below and in the long vertical areas to either side, the whole window design being enclosed by a colored border.[3]

---

[1] Grodecki: "On peut hésiter, pour désigner les vitraux les plus anciens de ce genre, entre St.-Rémi de Reims et Auxerre." (*Vitraux des églises de France*, p. 25.) The five lancets beneath the north rose at Notre-Dame de Dijon, included in error by Grodecki in a discussion of color/grisaille combinations (*VF*, p. 140), are colored throughout.

[2] Note, in addition to the examples from eastern France, a unique example in the west, the Virgin in Majesty window of Angers, c. 1220 (Jane Hayward and Louis Grodecki, "Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers," *Bulletin monumental*, CXXIV (1966), 27-29; illustrated in Lucien Magne, *Décer du verre* (Paris, 1913), fig. 89 on p. 126, The window's original position in Angers Cathedral is unknown, possibly the transept.

[3] Mon. hist. photo-montages for Bays M, 2M, OA, 2-OA, OE and 2-OE.

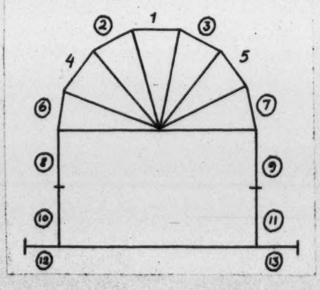
[4] At Reims, Bays OE and 2-OE in the south transept, west side, the border immediately surrounds the figure panels, separating them from the grisaille around them. It is not a very pleasing design. See the Cologne chapterhouse for a late example (ca. 1295).

The evolved type is found in the Auxerre choir clerestory (Pl. 93). Each clerestory light contains a standing figure framed by a wide border of grisaille within a wide colored border of conventional design. The Lyons figures have the grisaille border only.[1] The idea of combining blocks of grisaille and large figures seems to have originated in Champagne, the Saint-Remi glazing dating before the turn of

---

[1] The Lyons figures, or at any rate their grisaille borders, seem to be derived from Auxerre. Illustration (drawing) on p. 81 of: Lucien Bégule, La Cathédrale de Lyon (Petites monographies des grands édifices de la France), Paris, n.d. (1928). Not all the figures of the Lyons choir clerestory have grisaille frames. Even the colored borders contain a great deal of white, however, in contrast to the figures, which are heavily colored. Grisaille borders: Bays 2-3, 6-7 and all triplets (8-11 in choir; 12-13, probably modern, in transepts). Only in the center lancets of the triplets are the grisaille borders wide enough to become small panels (of almost half the width of central figure panel). Approximate proportions:
1 : 2 1/3(?) : 1
The figures in the apse are apostles and those in the choir and transepts are prophets.

Cathédrale



the thirteenth century and that of Reims cathedral probably ca. 1235-40.[1] Its appearance, development and variation at Auxerre ca. 1240-45[2] is of great importance in understanding the designs of Saint-Père and those of the many band windows of the late years of the century.

What happens at Auxerre is quite interesting. The lower chapel window clearly repeats the Rémois type. The clerestories, on the other hand, follow the pattern of some in the Chartres transept[3] in which a large standing figure is framed by two borders. At Auxerre the pattern is worn with a difference: the inner border is grisaille. The idea can be seen in development within the five apsidal lights.[1] The first bay to the south of the axial window contains two colored borders à la chartraine; the two bays to the north[2] have the large central figures surrounded by an inner grisaille border, rather heavily colored, and a wide colored outer border, the proportions across the window being:

---

[1] The lancets in the south transept clerestory of Reims, under the west tower, are, according to Reinhardt and Grodecki, remnants of an earlier glazing intended for the apse, which was replaced by Henri de Braisne (1227-40). The window is therefore a case of reused colored panels, set into grisaille dating ca. 1235-40, the latter strikingly close in design to that of the Auxerre axial chapel. Other bays in the Reims clerestory, near the crossing, appear to have been conceived from the beginning as grisaille/color combinations. Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Reims*, p. 185; Grodecki in *VF*, p. 140.

archéo ✓

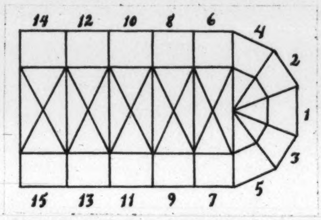
[2] I do not agree with Lafond ("Les Vitraux de la cathédrale Saint-Etienne d'Auxerre," *Congrès archéologique*, CXVI [1958], 60-67) that the Auxerre choir is as early as ca. 1235. Grodecki's date of after 1250, however, seems much too late (*Vitraux des églises*, p. 25) and he has revised it (*VF*, p. 140) to 'vers 1245?'. I would suggest ca. 1240 but no later than 1245.

[3] See footnote 1, p. 67.

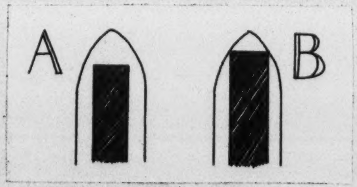
p.67 ✓

---

[1] Almost all of the choir bays of Auxerre contain figures framed in grisaille (exceptions: axial bay; westernmost lancets of Bays 14 and 15 are also colored throughout).



The bays are doublet-and-(large) rose. Each lancet contains a standing saint in the center, surrounded by outer grisaille strips, and a border. The grisaille varies considerably in design and in proportion of colored glass employed. The most uncolored grisaille (and hence the most 'framelike') is found in Bays 4, 6 and 14 (right) on the north, and Bays 5 and 15 (left) on the south. The outer borders also vary in design and in the amount of grisaille introduced into them. The grisaille 'frames' sometimes enclose the central colored area on all sides (see A below) and sometimes are cut into by that area (see B below--Bays 4, 6, 10 on north, Bays 3, 5, 7 and 11 on south). The choir thus presents a wealth of experiment and variation in the combination of grisaille and color.



[2] The axial bay is completely colored and does not concern us here. For illustrations (drawings) of the five apsidal windows see Cahier-Martin, II, pl. d'études XVII.

~~89~~
86

2 : 3 1/2 : 7 : 3 1/2 : 2

The second bay to the south, however, has a colored outer border of only half the width, this space now being allocated to the grisaille, which therefore becomes somewhat more than a mere 'border.' Proportions: 1 : 4 1/2 : 7 : 4 1/2 : 1 The grisaille is not only wider but contains less painting and less colored filets. It is, in fact, a strip of small grisaille 'panels' rather than a border. The combination of grisaille panel and colored panel of the Rémois windows and the Auxerre Lady Chapel has been adapted to the smaller light of the apse clerestory.[1]

At Saint-Père ca. 1270 the glazier wished to adapt the combination of large blocks of grisaille and color to clerestories now divided by mullions into long, narrow lancets. Since a tri-partite design was precluded, he settled on one-to-one strips, giving not only equal space but equal importance to grisaille and color. The decentralization of colored panels thus achieved obviously cannot work well in any glazing series but one which comprises a considerable stretch of fenestration. A single bay designed in this manner and inserted into a church glazed piecemeal would obviously produce a chaotic and distinctly unpleasant effect. The band window design which appeared in clerestories at the same moment,[1] on the other hand, has the virtue of internally centralized organization and could be used to reasonably satisfactory effect for an isolated window anywhere.[2] It is safer and infinitely more adaptable and its ultimate general success in preference to the Saint-Père scheme of vertical banding was assured.

---

[1] Proportions of the Hubericus Presbiter window in the Auxerre Virgin Chapel: 1 : 3 2/3 : 4 1/4 : 3 2/3 : 1 The glass of this chapel occasionally has been dated slightly after that in the choir clerestories. But see Lafond, ("Auxerre," pp. 60-67): ". . .il n'y a aucune raison de penser que. . . le déambulatoire et la chapelle de la Vierge aient été vitrés à une date 'quelque peu postérieur,' comme on l'a avancé." The style of script in the Virgin Chapel window is not more advanced than that of the choir clerestories. The presence of a footstool base in the former window cannot be considered as conclusive either, the lower panels of all the clerestories having been destroyed by the Calvinists. The main reasons for a later date for the Virgin Chapel window would seem, then, to be: (a) the narrow border there, (b) the large amount of odd bottle-green, and (c) the combination of large blocks of grisaille and color, commonly considered a precocious design before 1250. But the clerestories also have narrow borders, and a similar color harmony based on blue grounds, brown and green robes, red for highlights and no yellow to speak of. And the Rémois examples indicate that the combination of large blocks of grisaille with color was known well before 1250. The development at Auxerre, if any, more likely went from the Virgin Chapel to the clerestory and occurred while all the glass was still in the shop.

---

[1] There is some evidence that the clerestory band window idea may have evolved from the practice (in Normandy?) of glazing a strip of small scenes or figure panels across grisaille windows in churches or buildings of modest dimensions. See Norrey-en-Auge (Calvados), where canopied panels of the Visitation and St. Margaret are found in narrow grisaille lancets; and the chateau of Rouen panels of Sts. James, John the Evangelist, Peter and Paul, now in the Cluny Museum. The Norrey-en-Auge window is dated by Lafond ca. 1240, and he states: "C'est déjà la formule que l'on considère comme caractéristique du XIVe siècle." ("Normandie," p. 323.) The Cluny panels are dated ca. 1260. See Lafond, "Normandie," p. 337; and illustrations in La revue des arts, V (1955), pls. on p. 181 and opp. 182.

[2] At Tours, for example, two bays of it are combined in the choir clerestory with medallion windows of the Parisian type.

The moment has come to summarize the evidence and reconstruct from it a probable sequence of events in the Saint-Père ateliers during the middle thirteenth century. The stylistic evidence seems to indicate an early date (in the 1240's) for the body of the choir glass, both grisaille and figures, and a date somewhat more advanced (closer to 1265-70) for the glazing of Bays 14-15, the tracery lights of the choir, and the grisaille in the triforium. In the face of a vacuum in documentation for these years one must rely on such differences in style for any hypothesis offered. The possibility exists, of course, that an older and more archaic master could have been responsible for the 'earlier' glazing while his younger contemporary was designing in a somewhat more advanced vein at the same moment. I cannot easily accept such a theory for the following reason. It seems logical to assume, when both grisaille and figure work in some windows stylistically predate the grisaille and figures of other windows, that there is probably a hiatus between their dates of execution. An 'older archaic' master hypothetically responsible for most of the choir glass would more likely have designed all the figures, while his younger contemporary would have been assigned all the grisaille (or perhaps vice versa). When stylistic differences are evident in both prestige and non-prestige work, it seems much more likely that the whole shop which produced the 'early' windows was indeed earlier than the shop which designed the 'later' ones.

If, then, one accepts the hypothesis that a gap of some twenty years or more intervenes between the design of the two choir groups, and that the later work is contemporary with the architecture in which it is found, the problem presents itself of the original pose of the earlier work. It comprises thirty-two figures[1] and, at present, a somewhat lesser amount of grisaille panels,[2] a considerable amount to 'relocate,' even hypothetically.

Discounting the possibility of a glazed cloister or a series of lower aisle windows (broad undivided lancets at

---

[1] Two fragments (Pl. 87) taken from the church in the restorations of the early 1950's (now in the studio of François Lorin) may augment the number. Each shows the feet and robe hem of a similar standing prophet. The measurements, necessarily approximate because of the fragmentary nature of the debris, seem to coincide with those of the choir prophets. One of the fragmentary figures (Pl. 87c) holds a phylactery with letters in a comparable block script: DAVI.

[2] See footnotes 1, p. 51 and 1, p. 56.

p. 51 ✓
p. 56

Saint-Père), the early choir glass must either have been intended for the twelfth century choir or for the nave, newly completed by the early 1240's. The choir architecture would have had an appearance not unlike that of St. Germer-de-Fly (Oise),[1] or the original St. Germain-des-Prés choir before the windows were lengthened.[2] With seven single windows in the apse and ten double windows in the choir the maximum total of twenty-seven lancets might have been available. If their width in relation to the supporting ambulatory arcade was comparable to that in St. Germain-des-Prés,[3] the lancets would easily have been wide enough for the present choir figures, but could have accommodated no more than one figure vertically.

Oise

The more likely hypothesis is that the early choir glass was intended for the nave. The new nave added to the twelfth century choir was probably complete by the 1240's.[4] It would be a fair assumption, then, that the main body of glass now in the choir, dating in the early 1240's, was originally planned for the nave. The question of measurements becomes vital here. Each lancet of the huge doublet windows in the nave measures 174-175 cm. across, including the two vertical irons they now possess. The choir bay measurements vary considerably, but 63 cm. can be taken as an approximate measure of the width of the early grisaille.[1] It is evident that a design consisting of narrow borders (say, 10 cm. wide) plus two vertical strips of grisaille framing a central colored block of panels,[2] _à la remoise_, would be impossibly wide for the lancets of the nave. If indeed the choir glass came from the twelve windows of the nave, the following arrangement is suggested: (a) grisaille--at least four nave windows of grisaille, two panels wide, divided by an iron down the center and enclosed by a wide border of 19-20 cm. Fragments of such borders have been found in the church.[1] Two such borders (40 cm.) plus two grisaille panels (126 cm.) plus irons would fit the nave doublets exactly, in a design similar to those of Bourges and Reims ca. 1225-35;[2] (b) figures--either eight nave windows containing four figures each (i.e., two figures to each doublet lancet, surrounded by decorative filler and a wide border?), or, a lesser number of windows containing eight figures each in 'disputing pairs' like the large medallion figures at Troyes.[3] The latter theory is more attractive and could account for the debris from the church which seems to have formed part of the early standing prophet series.[4]

---

[1] Paul Frankl, Gothic Architecture (Pelican History of Art 219), Baltimore, Md (1962), pl. 7A. St. Germer-de-Fly was begun ca. 1132.

[2] Frankl, p. 41.

[3] This arcading remains at Saint-Père. The rayonnant reconstruction was begun at triforium level.

[4] See discussion Chapter I.

---

[1] The grisaille panels, discounting the framing filets, are square in design and uniformly 63 cm. in height. Measurements of width are as follows:

Bay 11 - 68 cm. including central iron of about 3.5 cm.
60.3 cm. without iron and without filet borders.
Bay 13 - 64.25 cm. total width.
59 cm. without filet borders.

Bays 10 and 12 across the choir mirror these measurements, of course, and the other bays contain no old grisaille (except for Bays 14-15, 50 cm. wide, in the later style). The slight discrepancy between height and width can be explained by the fact that the vertical filet borders slice into the design slightly. The filet borders were probably added when the glass was redesigned ca. 1270.

[2] Measurements of the figure panels are more difficult to deal with than those of the grisaille because it is uncertain how much of the present medallion frameworks were originally designed for them and how much added ca. 1270.

Bay 9 - 56 cm., figure alone.
75.5 cm., total width of figure lancet (the left and right lancets vary slightly).
Bay 11 - 53.25 cm., figure alone.
58.5 cm., figure and framing medallion.
67.75 cm., total width of figure lancet.
Bay 13 - 50.5 cm., figure alone.
65 cm., total width of figure panel.
Bay 17 - 51 cm., figure alone.
64.5 cm., total width of figure lancet.

Bays 8, 10, 12 and 16, opposite, accord. The total width of the later figure panels in Bays 14-15 is 50-51 cm.

---

[1] Scraps of four different border designs measuring between 18-20 cm. are among the debris removed from the church during the restorations of the early 1950's. The debris is stored in the Lorin studio.

p.57 p.58 ✓ [2] See footnotes 2, p. 57; 1-2, p. 58.

p.72 p.75 ✓ [3] See footnotes 1, p.72, and 1, p.75.

p.89 ✓ [4] See footnote 1, p. 89.

~~96~~
93

There is no reason to assume that the ca. 1300-15 glazing of the nave retained the thirteenth century irons. Neither is there any reason to assume that the alternating arrangement of light and dark in the nave reflects an older glazing pattern.[1] Hypothesis upon hypothesis, it would seem therefore that the glass originally intended for the nave was probably not arranged in any grisaille/color combination. It is more likely that the earlier plan was for windows entirely colored or entirely grisaille (except, perhaps, for borders) and that the idea of combining the two waited upon their redesign ca. 1270.

If the nave, then, had been filled with an abundance of beautiful standing prophets, why were not four of them reused to fill Bays 14-15? Measurements provide an answer. The dimensions of the upper stories of the choir were predetermined by the twelfth century arcading standing below them. The early arcading varies considerably and somewhat irregularly in width, Bays 8-9 being the largest and Bays 14-15 by far the smallest.[2] The lancets of Bays 14-15 are barely

---

[1] In its present form the alternating effect is false to a degree, as the modern grisaille in nave Bays 20-21 replaces colored diaper which was there until the late 17th c. and still is visible in the lancet arches (Pls. 54, 57).

[2] A glance at the triforium balustrade confirms this statement easily. The balustrade quatrefoils in Bays 14-15 are squeezed almost out of recognition (see Pl. 7a).

94

50 cm. wide, whereas the narrowest figure panel presently in the choir exceeds that width even when it is completely denuded of borders or filets. For the same reason older grisaille of the type reused in Bays 10-13 could not have been cut down to 50 cm. width without hopelessly truncating its centripetal pattern.[1] The extra width of Bays 10-11 (Pls. 27, 29) was taken up by inserting an unnecessary vertical iron of 3.5 cm. down the middle of the grisaille.[2]

A somewhat more delicate question is whether or not the medallion frameworks formed part of the original design. As the older grisaille was a uniform width of about 63 cm., it is tempting to assume that the original width of the figure panels was the same. One has only to glance at the choir to see, however, that in Bays 8-9 (Pls. 23, 25) the border follows the lancet head rather exactly and that in Bays 12-13 (Pls. 33, 34b) and 16-17 (Pls. 41. 45) the 'medallions' are sliced at the sides by a thin border which frames the entire light. I believe one may go so far as to advance the hypothesis, then, that the coarser border and the filler

---

[1] See measurements in footnote 1, p. 91.

p. 91

[2] The original uncut form can be seen in the lancet arches and in the lower left grisaille panel of Bay 10 (Pl. 27). Bays 8-9, which are even wider, no longer retain their medieval grisailles.

(significantly not diaperwork in this case) of the broader Bays 8-9 dates from the redesign ca. 1270, and that the framing of these figures has been largely revamped to suit the great width of the lancets.[1] Furthermore I would suggest that the dimensions and overall design of the colored glass in Bays 10-11 most closely approximate the original, and therefore by extension that the diapering and the unadorned filet medallion-frameworks of these windows and of most of Bays 12-13 and 16-17 are original, ca. 1240-45.

Whether or not the choir glass was ever actually installed in the nave windows for which it was probably designed is a question which seems likely to remain moot. What is more certain is that fast upon the nave's erection followed the chapter's decision to raze the twelfth-century choir and rebuild it in a more modern style. An attractive hypothesis would be that the glass ready for installation in the new nave was held and redesigned for immediate pose in the new choir when it was finished at a date close to 1270.

---

[1] The arcaded houses and the bases beneath the feet of the prophets in Bays 8-9 differ radically from anything found elsewhere in the choir. They are, in fact, much closer to the rough-and-ready style evident in some of the Le Mans clerestories. See discussion Chapter V.

An interesting footnote concerning the installation of the glass in the new choir underlines the probable excitement and improvisation in the Saint-Père workshops during the third quarter of the century. All of the choir windows, even the late bays 14-15, include an added strip which heightens them slightly. In the north windows the strips are inserted obviously and rather awkwardly about mid-height (often in the arch of the lower figure's medallion frame (see Pls. 23, 27, 31, 43), while on the south the windows' decorative filler is simply continued at the bottom (Pls. 25, 29, 34b, 45). The most logical assumption would be that after the glass was redesigned and ready for the north side, including the new Bay 14, the architect decided to push his audacious clerestory another step toward heaven. The north side would then require patching before installation while the unfinished southern panels could easily be extended to fill the new dimensions. Bay 15 (Pl. 39), the new bay on the south, has slightly more sophisticated figure bases than those of Bay 14 (Pl. 37).[1] The conclusion seems obvious: the ca. 1270 choir was rising while the glass was in the workshop for reworking.

southern ✓

---

[1] See footnote 2, p. 71.

✓ footnote 2, p. 71.

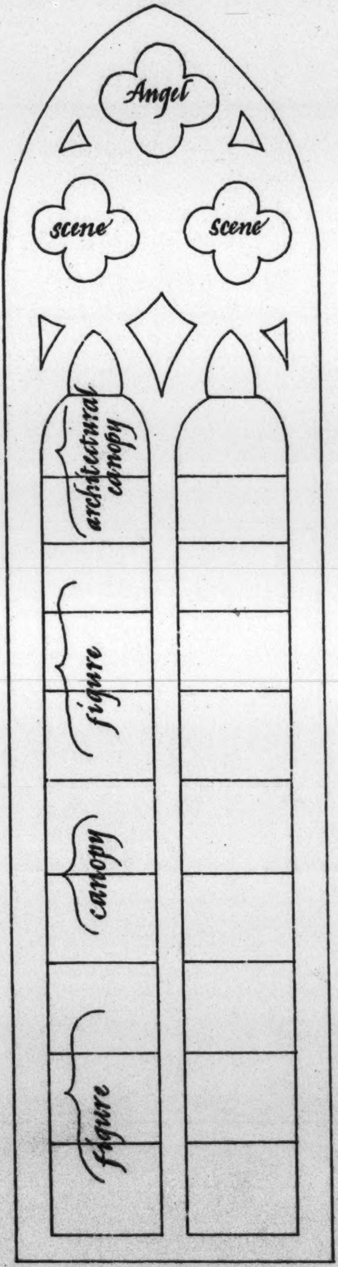
The Saint-Père choir glazing is of interest not only because of its beauty and its connections with other monuments in the 'West'[1] but because its transitional style throws light upon the development of many stylistic formulae during the artistically turbulent years of the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century. The design of grisaille, the combination of grisaille and color, the arrangement of legible figure patterns for the new narrow lancets of the clerestory, the changing style in the framing of large figures--all these issues were current in the Saint-Père atelier. Further complicating their solutions and our understanding of them is the fact that during the course of this rapidly fluctuating period the architecture of the nave was completed and that of the upper choir razed and rebuilt, probably leaving much recent, expensive and beautiful glass to be resituated. The program most likely went as follows: the glass now in the choir lancets, except Bays 14-15, made around 1240-45, original pose (if any) unknown but probably intended for the nave; glass of Bays 14-15 made around 1265-70 for the architecture in which it is found; grisaille of the choir clerestory tracery and triforium approximately contemporary to Bays 14-15 but by an inferior artisan. The unique combination of color and grisaille which the glazier of 1270 produced is probably his alone, and in no way reflects the original design of the nave.

---

[1] The place of Saint-Père in the Western School and the "westernness" of its style will be discussed in Chapter V.

/

The grisaille/color striping in the choir, although never destined for widespread adoption, is quite successful in such a large series of windows and is very beautiful. Apparently the monks at Saint-Père, so au courant with the architectural fashion, were pleased with it too, for in preference to other more popular solutions at the turn of the century they had it adapted for use in the extensive early fourteenth century glazing of the nave.


Angel
scene
scene
architectural canopy
figure
canopy
figure

Format of
Bays 1-6
(hemicycle)

Fig. 3

CHAPTER III

HEMICYCLE: STYLE

The six glittering windows of the hemicycle of Saint-Père[1] function as a visual lodestone, concentrating attention on the sanctuary of the church (Pl. 9b). The series of the hemicycle is the only completely colored ensemble in a monument where--as we have seen and will investigate again in the discussion of the nave--important experiments in the combination of grisaille and colored panels took place. The coloring of the ensemble is not only unrelieved but also the most brilliant in the church, an equal balance of red, clear blue and strong yellow[2] which will be discussed in stylistic context later. It is probably the gaiety and intensity of the color harmony in the hemicycle, more than any other single factor, which successfully unifies the diverse elements of the church's comprehensive glazing plan.

✓ ing

---

[1] The seventh, the westernmost on the south, has been blind since the mid-14th c., when a spiral staircase was built behind it giving access to the roof, vaulting and exterior clerestory ledge. Evidently it was glazed originally with the rest of the hemicycle. See: Lillich, "Découverte," pp. 28-32.

Decouverte

[2] The same color formula appears in a few of the nave narrative windows. See discussion Chapter IV, narrative windows.

quatrefoils ✓

Each of the windows contains two long, narrow lancets surmounted by tracery formed of three quatrefoils (see Fig. 3). In each lancet are two standing male saints, placed one over the other, each under an elaborate canopy. There are four such figures to a bay, making twenty-two in all, plus the Madonna and Child and the Crucified Christ in the axial window. Below the Madonna and Crucifixion in this window are figures of St. Louis and the abbey's patron St. Gilduin; in all other cases, however, the saints are apostles or anonymous bishops or abbots. The uppermost quatrefoil in the tracery contains, in each window, an identical upside down angel bearing two crowns of martyrdom. The two quatrefoils beneath this angel present a series of saint's martyrdoms, forming a secondary plot-line to the main theme of the lancets below. Both the main series of saints and the counterpoint of martyrdom scenes depict apostles and non-apostles intermingled.

The problems of interest in the hemicycle are of totally different significance from those of the choir. The date is not seriously in question, nor with it, the importance or influence of the ensemble. Although no documentation corroborates the author's *apriori* assumptions,

~~134~~

102

it seems likely that the hemicycle glass was designed and installed in a brief period of time, with expense not spared, under the guidance of a single skilled artist and largely his personal product. The total absence of a donor's shadow, the painstaking planning and execution, the iconography and the quality of the workmanship lead to the supposition that the abbey itself ordered and paid for the group as the chief jewel in its sanctuary's crown. The dating is not elusive. Aside from the terminus post quem offered by the presence of the image of St. Louis, who was canonized on August 6, 1297, however, it is based only on internal and stylistic evidence. The church building was probably finished no later than the early 1280's. The choir glass, in the process of redesign while the architecture was rising,[1] could have been installed while the architectural scaffolding was still up. Although there are few indications in the nave windows to date them measurably later than those of the hemicycle,[2] the importance of the sanctuary and the

---

[1] See discussion in Chapter II.

[2] The canopywork over the standing saints is slightly more developed in the nave. The coloration of the historiated Bay 18, relying heavily on white and yellow, foreshadows 14th c. practice after the advent of the silver stain technique.

125

103

fact that the choir was already glazed would suggest that the hemicycle came after it in time. Furthermore, the apse group is careful, painstaking work while the nave saints and some of the historiated bays (notably Bay 22, the Peter window) have an air of haste.[1] The donations for the nave fall within the years ca. 1302-1312;[2] it seems a fair assumption, therefore, that the ensemble of the hemicycle was complete shortly after the turn of the fourteenth century. Because this date falls so quickly after that of St. Louis's canonization, it is more than likely that the hemicycle windows were begun well before that historic event, and that their roster was altered to include him.[3] I would suggest as a date for the hemicycle ca. 1295-1300.

The twenty-four standing figures of the ensemble all bear the signature of a single style, and form an example of Western glazing of the first quality. By 'Western' is meant a style rather than a geographical area, although in fact this style occurs in monuments which are in the 'West'--Maine, Touraine and as far as the fringes of Normandy. The general characteristic of this style, the development of which will be traced in Chapter V, is boldness, or perhaps one could say, freedom. It is an art of extremes. Draughtsmanship is crude, imprecise, expressionistic and economical. Forms are exaggerated. The broadness of handling produces a sense of drama and of force.

---

[1] See discussion of Bay 22 (Chapter IV and Chapter XI).

[2] See Chapter I.

[3] The only internal evidence of any alteration in plan in the apse is the height of the saints, which varies, in a few cases necessitating the reduction or elimination of the lower border (Bay 4, Bay 5 left, Bay 6 left). Cartoon B is by far the tallest. Most, but not all, of the present lower borders are modern work. There is some evidence at Vendôme, another monument of the Western school, that the St. Louis there may have been inserted into older work.

The color harmony mentioned earlier, a gaudy tripartition of primaries, is one of the most characteristic trademarks of Western glazing.[1] In some cases, notably at Vendôme Bay F and Sées (especially Bays 1, 4 and 6) it became reduced to a formula--red ground, alternating yellow and blue robes. In the Saint-Père apse the harmony is employed with considerably more variation and sophistication. Simple apostles are garbed as in the following examples:

---

[1] On the pivotal position of Saint-Père in the mature Western School see generally Chapter V.

Bay 3, top right:	The ground is blue. The saint has white hair and a red halo with a white pearled border, and wears a yellow robe and a red mantle lined in green. He carries a green cross as attribute (Pl. 15a).
Bay 4, top right:	The ground is red. The figure has yellow hair and a green halo, and carries a white sword with a green and yellow handle, and a red book. His robe is yellow and his mantle blue with a green lining, and he stands on a white base.

Ecclesiastical figures become much more complex, for example the Saint Peter as Pope of

Bay 2:	The ground is blue. The hair is white, the tiara red, and the halo blue bordered in white pearls. He carries white keys and a gold cross-staff. He wears white gloves, a yellow amice, a red chasuble with sleeves lined in yellow, a white pallium, a blue maniple, a white alb under a blue dalmatic and red tunicle, and yellow caligae. Of the complete vestment only the stole is lacking.

The grounds of figures and canopywork panels are blue or red but in no regular pattern of alternation, the artist apparently guarding the option to maintain better control of his color balance.

The master planner intended the hemicycle group to be the fulcrum of the Saint-Père glazing design, not only a brilliant core but artistically his 'best work.' Thus it is that, of the Western school of glazing, the work most characteristic in color and in spirit and at the same time the most varied and richly drawn, is found here. The clerestory ensembles of the West rely for impact on force of color and expressionistic drawing rather than precision or elegance of draughtsmanship or complexity of design. It is not a subtle art. Within this framework and operating within this perspective, care and imagination were cultivated in the Saint-Père hemicycle. In a group of windows depicting an assemblage of somewhat similar saints under identical canopies, no two physiognomies are alike, no two attributes exactly the same. The carefully plotted variation is surprising when one realizes that many cartoons appear several times, as happens in the earlier glass of the choir,[1] the nearly contemporary work in the nave and in the Western school in general. Unlike the choir or the nave, it is difficult to plot the exact number of cartoons used in the hemicycle. Some, like that used for Saint Peter as Pope, the archbishop below him in Bay 2 and the bishop of Bay 4 (see Pls. 14 and 18), are immediately recognizable. Painstaking mutations make other cartoons considerably more elusive to trace. A partial suggested list follows:[1]

---

[1] Cartoons were re-used generally, See Auxerre, Lyon, St.- Urbain de Troyes.

Cartoon A: Bay 2 bottom left
Bay 5 top right

Cartoon B: Bay 4 top right
Bay 5 top left

Cartoon C: Bay 3 top left (St. Paul)
Bay 5 bottom left

Cartoon D: Bay 2 top left
Bay 3 bottom left
Bay 4 bottom left

Cartoon E: Bay 3 bottom right
Bay 6 top left

Cartoon F: Bay 2 top right (St. Peter)
Bay 2 bottom right
Bay 4 Bottom right

Cartoon G: Bay 3 top right
Bay 5 bottom right

---

[1] The figures of the axial bay, none of them particularly distinguished, were each drawn to a fresh cartoon.

A comparison of any cartoon 'family' (see Pls. 13a) will show the degree of individuality the artist was able to distill in its members. In groupings such as Cartoons A and B, the basic change is that of attribute, although no color is ever repeated in the same area, and even the flesh differs considerably in tone. In group C, in addition to the change of attribute, the first of the figures has been given St. Paul's bald head and a longer, more pointed beard (Pl. 17). In group G (see Pls. 17 and 19) the heads again vary drastically in type, one being a youth and the other an aged man (the mid panel of the second figure is a modern restoration). In group D the first figure resembles the other two in the middle and lower panels only, and then with changes in attribute and hand position. There are probably other such affinities of 'parts' which have been so well disguised that they elude detection altogether.

The figures are at once massive and dramatic. Head-to-body proportion is usually about 1:5--there is nothing willowy about this army of saints!--but exaggerations of gesture and posture and intensity of expression imbue them with life. The format adopted, a standard one for clerestory glazing presenting rows of standing, immobile figures under canopies, is a layout which implies the static 'presentation' of images to the observer. The Western school, with its aesthetic goal of dramatic expressionism, resisted this implication occasionally by recourse to large simplified 'scenes.' Those of Le Mans Bay F are an example in the school's early period, as are those of Evron at its finale. A less awkward and more stylistically coherent manner of energizing the canopy-row format was that perfected in the hemicycle of Saint-Père, where the figures have intrinsic drama. Their hands are of exaggerated size; their gestures are almost theatrical, the attributes are as much 'exhibited' as held. They stare out at us, the audience, in startling full-face, or equally effective profile, their eyes full of messianic zeal.

energizing ✓

The draughtsmanship is spare. Modelling is minimal, mass being implied in brief linear strokes rather than spelled out in elaborate gradations of shading. The quality of drawing is uniformly superior in all bays save Bay 6 (Pl. 20), where an assistant's hand is probably evident in the meandering and occasionally illogical drapery folds, less effective hands, and slightly vacuous expressions. The lower two figures of the axial bay (Pl. 13)--St. Louis and St. Gilduin,--exhibit something of the good intentions hastily produced which mark even the best of the large saints of the nave, a further bit of evidence to support the suggestion that they were inserted into the program of the apse while it was en route to completion.

The medallion martyrdoms in the upper tracery, to which must be added the canopywork with its crown-bearing angels and gargoyles, offer a rather less uniformly 'Western' aspect. Two distinct styles are evident in the medallions. A fluid, expanding and somewhat crudely drawn manner is found in the two quatrefoils of Bay 1 (Annunciation and Nativity) and in the right medallion of Bay 2 (Beheading of the Baptist by a contorted, energetic executioner). Details are more precise and gestures more anatomically rendered in the second group, consisting of the eight remaining martyrdoms,[1] but the life-spark is missing from these spiritless tableaux. The incredibly postured upside-down angels (one cartoon repeated in all six bays) of the upper tracery quatrefoils exhibit the brusqueness of the former, 'Western' type. The precise and tightly-drawn gargoyles of the canopywork, on the other hand, appertain to the second group, as do the elongated, sylphlike angels also in the canopywork.

---

[1] The right medallion of Bay 5 is lost.

Gargoyles and small figures appear with frequency in canopywork only in Normandy. The proportions of head to body, 'international-style' contraposto and general weightlessness of the canopywork angels also relate them to Norman glazing (Fécamp is the contemporary Norman series which leaps to mind). The Norman leaven was certainly at work in the fabric of Western art when the Saint-Père apse windows were made ca. 1300. The intermingling of the two diverse styles[1]--the disparate aesthetics of the two groups of tracery lights, and the canopywork in which occasional Norman figurative motifs grace structures formed of predominantly Western elements[2]--appears in the hemicycle of Saint-Père only in the glazing of secondary importance. The important and imposing jury of saints speaks an unaccented Western tongue.

---

[1] See references to Bay 22 and Bay 28 in Chapter IV. Sées is the monument where the Western and Norman styles form an obvious, uneasy alliance; Vendôme can also be mentioned in this regard.

[2] See comparison chart in Chapter V.

~~44~~ 112

What is the relationship between the largely homogeneous ensemble of the hemicycle and the more diverse and tangled stylistic groupings of the Saint-Père nave? Remarks in detail will be postponed to the discussions of the several nave styles.[1] It can be said in general that the ensemble of the hemicycle and most of the nave windows exhibit the same expressionistic virility spread of the Western school. The difference, at least in the case of the standing saints of the nave, is one of quality. The abbey was evidently anxious to see the glazing project brought to completion. The nave designs, which will be investigated in Chapter IV, are vigorous but carelessly drawn, and repeated with minimal changes in inscriptions and attributes. The figures of both the hemicycle and nave groups emit the same poise and sense of mass, but the latter embody a dreadful wallpaper sameness in spite of their personal labels. The hemicycle ensemble was an ideal unattainable in haste.

The windows of the hemicycle, then, are the central piece of work in Saint-Père. In their row design, strength and flare of draughtsmanship and unabashed color they perfect and concentrate ideas presented by the choir designer.

---

[1] See Chapter IV.

~~115~~

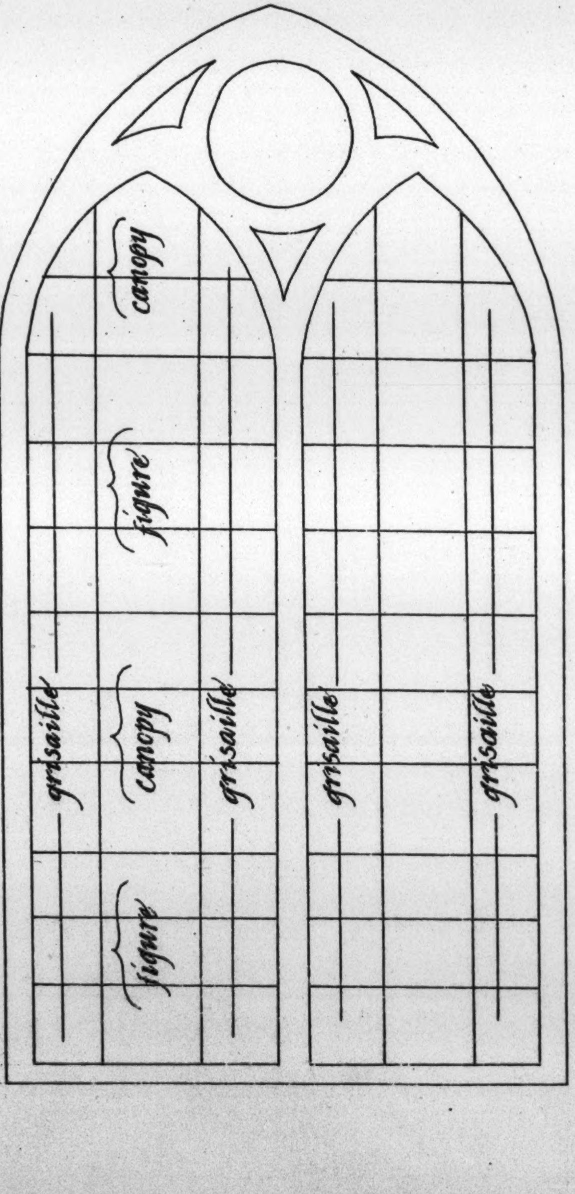
113

They in their turn form the model for the colored glass of the nave, in particular the less skillfully executed nave saints, also in rows under canopies, crude and expressionistic in design and highly colored. The ensemble of the hemicycle is a proud declaratory statement of an art form which would not long withstand the pressures, new goals and changed techniques[1] of the fourteenth century.

---

p.102 ✓

[1] See footnote 2, p. 102.


canopy
figure
canopy
figure
grisaille
grisaille
grisaille
grisaille

Format
of
figure bays
(nave)

Bays 20-21
24-25
28-29

Fig. 4

CHAPTER IV

NAVE: STYLE

The twelve bays of the nave contain two basic designs in alternation, narratives in canopied rows and monumental standing saints framed in grisaille.[1] The nave windows are a late example of doublet-and-rose built ca. 1240-1245, the two immense lancets surmounted by a small rosace and pierced corner lights (see Figs. 4-6). Their broadness probably posed a source of aesthetic irritation to the early fourteenth century glazier, which he mitigated by adopting a flexible *panneautage* in three parts, as if each lancet contained two vertical mullions.[2] Although the proportions of the grid pattern thus established differ between the narrative and single figure windows, the ironwork of both forms three horizontal panels and in most cases ten vertical ones plus a curved upper row.[3]

---

[1] Bays 20 and 21, closest to the sanctuary, originally were framed in colored diaper, remnants of which are still visible at the top of the windows.

[2] Louis Grodecki, describing panels from Bay 26 included in the 1953 Paris exhibition at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, assumed in error that the windows did contain mullions. (Louis Grodecki, *Vitraux de France du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1953), p. 20).

[3] The exceptions are Bay 22 (Peter window) and the right lancet of Bay 19 (Virgin), both divided into seven rows. See discussion infra.

The decoration of the nave clerestory was a unified concept in plan and execution, a plan not only sophisticated in its own complexity but carefully related to the rest of the church glazing. The hemicycle ensemble is recalled by the heavy coloration of the historiated panels and by their subjects (in quite a few cases employing scenes already illustrated in the tracery medallions of the hemicycle), as well as by the similarity of the canopied apostles and ecclesiastics of the color/grisaille bays. The latter nave bays reflect, no less intentionally, the vertical alternation of grisaille and standing figures in the choir. Thus despite a span of almost three-quarters of a century the design of the stained glass of Saint-Père, to an unusual degree, presents itself as a coherent whole.

Figure Windows

The six nave windows containing large saints framed in grisaille or diaper (Pls. 54, 57, 68, 72, 81, 85) comprise twelve broad lancets, each with two figures one over the other, a total of twenty-four personae in all. Excepting the Madonna and Child and the donor figure of the left lancet of Bay 21[1] all are saints, those on the north apostles with name-inscriptions and attributes and those on the south ecclesiastics--popes (Bay 21), bishops and archbishops (Bay 25) and abbots (Bay 29). A few of the beatified churchmen also retain their original inscriptions.[1]

---

[1] See Chapter X, Bay 21, Laurent de Voisin.

In the color/grisaille bays the vertical irons are placed to allow the central figured strip greater width than the two framing strips (see Fig. 4).[2] Part of each framing strip is taken up by a narrow colored border running around the entire lancet. The vertical grisaille in the nave, therefore, really functions as a frame albeit a conspicuous one, to the colored figure strip, unlike the choir design, where it functions as an equilibrant. It is a stylistic throwback to the pioneering color/grisaille designs of Saint-Remi, Auxerre and Lyon.[3] Such a reversion is the more curious considering the vogue of the band-window design in the Western school of glazing by the early fourteenth century.[4] I believe it is better understood as a

---

[1] See Chapter X, Bays 21, 25, 29.

[2] The width of the sections of Bay 25, for example: 50 cm./68/50 (excluding irons); 175 cm. across lancet including irons. Compare the measurements of a narrative bay of comparable size in footnote 2, p. 128. The nave bays vary slightly in width.

fn. 2, p. 128

[3] See Chapter II, pp. 82ff. Cf. Angers Virgin (p. 82,n.2).

Add - pp. 82 ff. Cf. Angers Virgin (p. 82, n. 2).

[4] Its use at Tours, Sées and Vendôme is discussed in Chapter V.

~~117~~
118

master designer's skilled variation on themes from the hemicycle and the choir than, as has been suggested,[1] purely an attempt to make the proportions of the broad lancets conform to the narrower, more vertical aesthetic of the day.

The original grisaille remains in four of the windows and traces of the original diaper in the other two. While the diaper (see Pls. 54 & 57) is a simple, archaizing pattern[2] the grisaille designs offer an interesting and varied group of early fourteenth century motifs, the only antiquated feature retained being the cross-hatched ground.[3]

---

[1] See Lewis Day, Windows, 2d ed. (London, 1902), p. 160. Compare Hugh Arnold, Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France, 2d ed. (London, 1939), pp. 187-88, who says simply that the artist adapted the choir design to the broad doublet-and-rose tracery of the nave.

[2] Nevertheless it would have cost more than grisaille. It may have been specified by the donor, the Canon Lawrence de Voisin, Dean of the cathedral. Lafond traces the use of archaistic diaper ground in Chartres as late as the Chapelle Saint-Piat (Jean Lafond, "Le Vitrail du XIVe siècle en France," in Louise Lefrançois-Pillion, L'Art du XIVe siècle en France (Paris, 1954), p. 212).

[3] Was the hatched ground retained to harmonize the nave glass with the early grisaille of the choir? Clear-ground grisaille of an intervening date (and inferior workmanship) appears in the choir triforium, and traces of clear-ground grisaille of a date contemporary with the later hatched work are found in the rosaces of Bay 19 (largely restored) and Bay 21 (only debris). By the end of the 13th c. the cathedral contained grisaille with clear grounds (Bays 29 and 36 near the entrance of Chapelle Saint-Piat and Bays 146-48 in north transept clerestory). On the other hand, the hatched ground appears in grisaille of the hemicycle triforium of Saint-Père, which is virtually contemporary with the nave (scraps remaining above inserted 16th c. panels from Saint-Hilaire).

The patterns in the two southern windows (Bays 25 and 29) are, like the colored glass of these bays, works of lesser quality and imagination than those on the north. Regular lozenge leading, in both, encloses glass painted with a vertical stem and rather dull, partially naturalized foliage. Bay 25 (Pls. 70a & 72) has an ordinary central stem; the stem in the Bay 29 grisaille (Pl. 86) rises along the inner side of the panels, a variant also found in the grisaille of another Western monument, Sées cathedral.[1] Colored lozenges in simple foliate patterns accent the centers and horizontal edges of the panels without so much as rippling the deadly regularity of the lead and filet latticework.

The grisaille of Bay 28 on the north (Pl. 82) offers a similar pattern to that of Bay 29, enlivened by imagination. The unusual inner rising stem reoccurs but foliated with more varied and naturalized leafage. The quarries and their filet patterns have been 'bulged' into graceful curving forms, animated by central bosses and the use of colored filets over the bars. In Bay 24 (Pl. 68) the same basic formula emerges produced by the master himself. The draughtsmanship is exquisite. Elegant maple and clover leaves grow from the inner stem. The bulged leading is of some intricacy, combining interlocked filet patterns in red, in blue, and in delicate painted designs in the English manner.[1]

---

[1] See Chapter V.

The colored portions of these windows--the large standing saints under their growing canopies and, of lesser importance, the borders--exhibit a much more muted coloration than the hemicycle ensemble. The primaries still provide the ingredients, but primaries which are, themselves, mutants (see, for example, Pl. 55). The red is darker, a port-wine shade occasionally approximating purple or brown. The blue is clearer and 'thinner,' the yellow quite mustard-like. Grounds are red or blue, again in no regular alternation, and white plays a slightly augmented role in canopy-work. Most of the figure strips in question are heavily colored. In the more skillful productions of the north side of the nave, white, green and brown are introduced more often for variation. Bay 28 (Pl. 83a) in particular, a window which has been singled out for praise on account of its grisaille, exhibits a varied palette of these secondary colors as well as gold and red, with white occupying a larger proportion of surface in robes, attributes and canopies. In this single window, which contains more highly colored grisaille as well, the artist has made a recognizable attempt to match the effects of his colored and colorless glazing. By and large, however, the coloration of the nave saints follows the lead of the hemicycle in intent. The glass 'material' used in the hemicycle and that of the nave series, it should be remembered, were different batches made under different conditions.[1] In the nave series, with the possible exception of the quality Bay 28, the primaries have been sought out and combined in a manner resembling the model in the hemicycle.

---

[1] For example, the mid-13th c. grisaille of Lincoln. See also an illustration of early 13th c. grisaille from Stanton Harcourt (Oxon.) in Christopher Woodforde, English Stained and Painted Glass (Oxford, 1954), pl. 3. It is a very rare design in France.

Other elements of design are no less dissimilar. The nave iconography is clearly an ordering and patterning of the apsidal chorus, and will be discussed in this light in the iconographic study, Chapter X. Canopy design and draughtsmanship in the nave ensemble are based to no less a degree on the hemicycle. Canopies are slightly more adventurous but composed of an identical vocabulary of motifs.[1] The figure style exhibits a similar crude broadness of execution and insistence on mass. No one comparing the elongated wiry toes and grasping pawlike hands of, say, Bay 20 (Pl. 54) to those of the hemicycle ensemble could doubt that the source lay there. Quality is a more pertinent issue, for the nave saints seem to have been drawn and executed in some haste. In almost all but the superior quality Bay 24, cartoons were repeated exactly, two to a bay.[2] This was a familiar economy in Western glazing, but in the Saint-Père nave figures of the same cartoon appear next to one another with little or no variation except their attributes.[3] The relaxation of care in decoration is even more evident. While it can be noted in almost any motif or element common to the two ensembles (haloes, decoration on swords and pikes, etc.), the difference is clearest in a comparison of papal or episcopal vestments. The painstaking and rich decoration of the hemicycle ecclesiastics has evaporated without a trace.

---

[1] A re-reading of Theophilus 'De diversis artibus' serves as a reminder of how little control the medieval glazier actually maintained anteriorly over the shades in his palette. Another consideration would be the centuries of weathering, which attacks and alters some shades more than others, contrary to the extraordinary opinion of Robert Sowers, "On the Blues in Chartres," *Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, No. 2 (June, 1966), 220ff. Cf. in particular Vendôme Bay G, which is now too dark for photographing.

---

[1] See chart, Chapter V.

[2] Bay 21, of necessity, contains different cartoons for the Virgin and Child and for the kneeling donor. Bay 29, mediocre work heavily restored, contains three cartoons for its four figures.

[3] The most forced case is that of St. Judas and St. Barnabas in Bay 28, both based on the same cartoon but carrying vastly different attributes in different positions (Pl. 81).

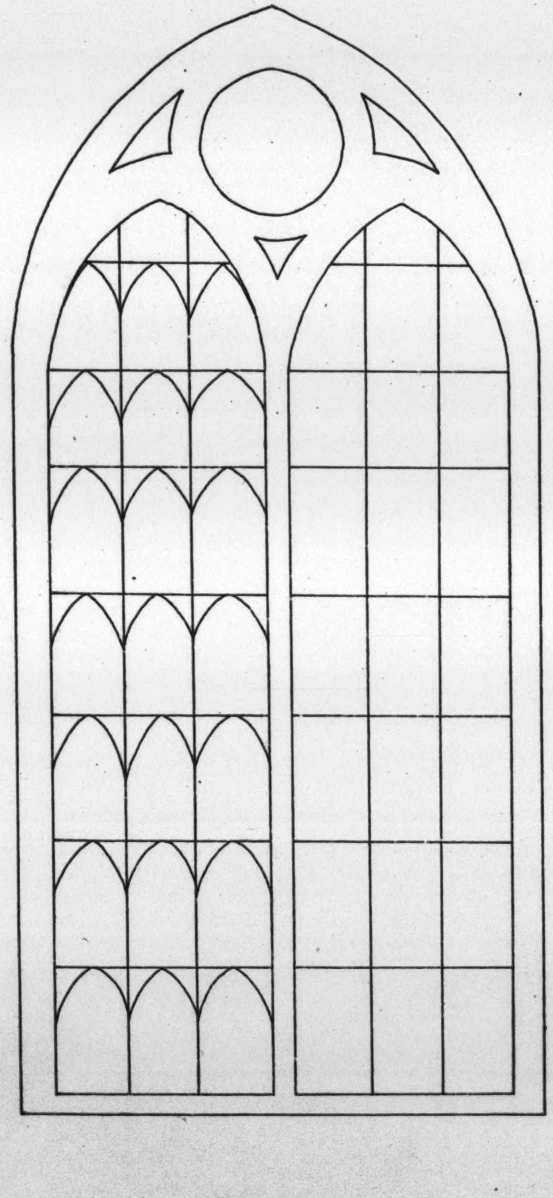
Nevertheless the nave windows are certainly attractive. Delicacy of drawing was in any case never a foundation of Western glazing. Rated by quality and 'hand,' the southern Bays 25 and 29 (Pls. 72 & 85) contain work of the poorest level; the once-diapered Bays 20 and 21 (Pls. 54 & 57), possibly commissioned by the same patron,[1] rate slightly higher; and the northern Bays 24 and 28 (Pls. 68 & 81) qualify as skillful and inventive designs of the series. Of the latter two, Bay 28 could be, judging from the varied anti-Western color scheme and the small heads and longer body proportions, the work of the Norman master who designed most of the apse medallions.[2] It is curious, however, how little the variation in quality and style affects the group's total effectiveness in the glazing scheme of the church.

---

[1] See Chapter X, Bay 21.

[2] See p. 141, infra.

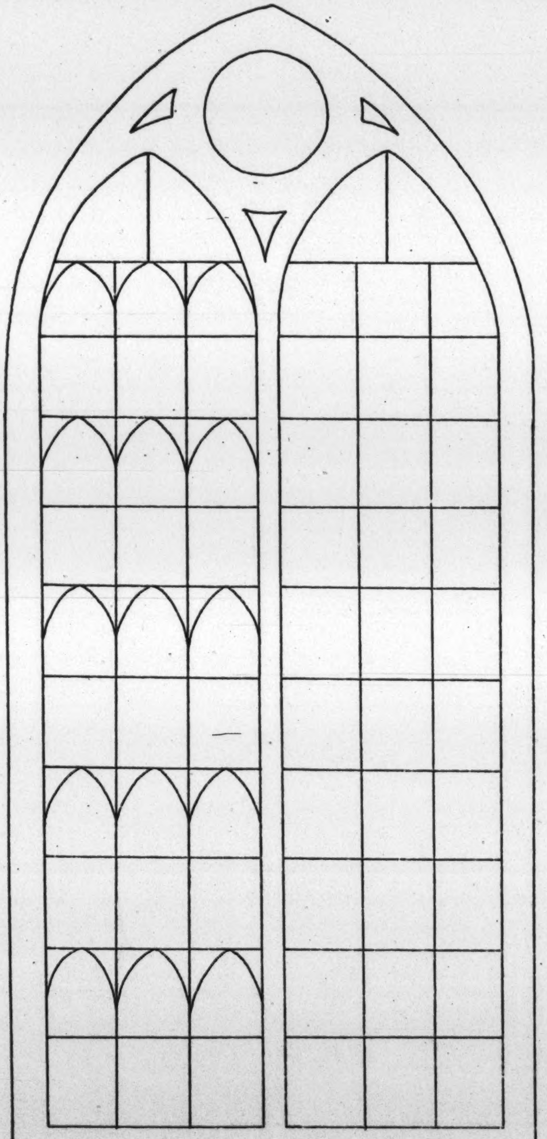
p. 141



Format
of
7-row
narrative
bays (nave)

Bay 22
Bay 19 (right
lancet)

Fig. 5



Format
of
5-row
narrative
bays (nave)

Bays 18
19 (left lancet)
23
26
27

Fig. 6

Narrative Windows

The six nave windows alternating with the figure series (Pls. 47, 52, 58, 64, 76, 79) contain lives of the saints and of the Virgin and the Passion of Christ in a format of canopied rows, heavily colored throughout. Variation in style, layout, color and general quality is quite as wide as in the nave series of standing saints, with which they are contemporary. As in the case of the figure group, however, the over-all plan of church glazing does not suffer thereby.

Small narrative panels were an anomaly in Western school glazing.[1] Furthermore, the over-broad doublet windows of the nave must have taxed the ingenuity of an artist accustomed to the slender, soaring lights of early fourteenth century architecture. Although the narrative windows are products of a single decade they evidence definite progressions in the use of artistic means for legible dramatic presentation in the clerestory. The artist (or artists) reworked and refined each solution. With the ultimate goal of suggesting a relative chronology for the series I will discuss the stylistic elements in turn.

---

[1] See Chapter V for discussions of the upper deambulatory window of Le Mans, the St. Julien window of Angers, and the possibility of lost glazing at Evron.

The most easily recognizable progression is in the row format. The broadness of the early thirteenth century windows was ignored at the beginning. Bay 22 (Peter and Paul) (Pl. 58) and the right lancet of Bay 19 (Joachim and Anne) (Pl. 52) are divided into seven rows of three scenes each, a strongly horizontal pattern allowing only for figures too small to be deciphered at the distance (see Fig. 5).

The confused mishmash of primitive canopy and figure styles among the panels of Bay 22 leads to the hypothesis that the window was put together out of older glass, augmented by new work where necessary. The older panels probably were designed in pairs instead of sets of three (see Fig. 7) and from their size it seems most likely that they were intended for a window on the ground floor of the church or other abbey building.[1] As Bay 22 was the donation of the abbey's new leader ca. 1305, Abbot Jean de Mantes, the hypothesis can be extended to suggest that it was the first nave window glazed, a sort of hastily mounted 'primer' for donations the new abbot sought--and obtained--for the remaining narrative bays. Its awkward seven-row design would, under such circumstances, result from the reuse of the older panels.

---

[1] Such a surmise is based on the projected size of a two-panel format window. Small single windows are found in ground-floor locations in both the Saint-Père chevet (mid-12th c.) and nave (early 13th). Small scenes were far from rare in upper windows during the second half of the 13th c., as the fame of the Sainte-Chapelle spread. Such windows were almost always medallion designs, however. The canopy-row design, found in a few narrative windows of Chartres cathedral, may have appealed more to the late Western school. There is too little remaining evidence to make a judgment. (See: Chartres Bay 42, north choir chapel, St. Cheron window, illustrated in Delaporte, II, pl. CXXIII-CXXVI; occasional isolated scenes in the clerestory have canopy frames, for ex. Bays 71 and 72, illustrated in Delaporte, III, pl. CLXXXVI).

Add to footnote →

In any case the seven-row format was short-lived. The right lancet of Bay 19 (Joachim and Anne) is the only other example. The new format comprising five rows of scenes (Fig. 6), each formed of six panels (two rows of three), appears in the left lancet of the same bay, continuing the narrative of the Virgin with the Infancy scenes.[1] It is used in the remaining four windows. The effect is at once more vertical and more legible, and allows for more developed canopies as well.[2]

Although the custom of framing small narrative scenes in rows of canopied panels never remotely approached the medallion device in popularity it probably was invented at about the same time. A few examples occur in Chartres cathedral, most notably the Saint-Chéron window (Bay XLII) in the north apsidal chapel.[1] In the chapels and clerestories of Saint-Urbain at Troyes, a monument of the second half of the thirteenth century with indubitable but elusive-to-delineate connections with Saint-Père, medallions, borderless scenes and canopied ones are combined in a transitional stew.[2] As medallions began to fade from use at the end of the century, canopies were the major device to usurp their function in the late gothic era.[3] The adoption of the canopied-scene design for a full-scale campaign of clerestory glazing at Saint-Père in the first decade of the fourteenth century was a progressive and experimental artistic decision.

---

[1] The Infancy lancet not only serves in this capacity iconographically but also to balance the Passion bay (Bay 18) directly opposite.

[2] Bay 19 has the following measurements of width: right lancet (seven-row): 55cm./56/55; left lancet (five-row): 57 +/52.5/57; 174 cm. across lancet including irons. The five-row panels are narrower (the outer two include borders) and taller (two layers of panels form each row of design).

---

[1] Delaporte, v. 2, pl. CXXIII and text vol. p. 344; also illustrated in VF, p. 65. Small donor figures and angels are not infrequently presented under canopies (the transept rose lancets, the 13th c. angels surrounding Notre-Dame de la Belle Verrière, etc.) and occasionally donor panels showing guild scenes.

[2] Bays B, C and E of the choir clerestory include scenes under single and double primitive canopies; the scenes in Bay A have no frame of any kind; Bay D has medallions (one illustrated in VF, pl. VIII). Some of the Saint-Urbain glass has been heavily reworked and restored.

[3] Another design almost as venerable as the others, that of figures placed directly against grisaille, also enjoyed a period of popularity in the early 14th c.

The development of canopies at Saint-Père progresses as follows:

Bay 22, early panels - primitive canopies with little or no decoration.

Bay 22, later panels - Bay 19, right lancet simple canopies with more elaborate decoration (Pls. 60b center and 50b)

Bay 26 - the same type of canopy in a new five-row format (Pl. 75)

Bay 23 - the same type of canopy with blocklike architectural motifs added from the vocabulary of the Western school (Pl. 63b-c).

Bay 27 - similar forms, with crockets added to the arches of the canopies (Pl. 78c).

Bay 19, left lancet - crocketed gables also are added (Pl. 50a).

Bay 18 - the same forms, but with the greatest variation and elaboration of architectural vocabulary (Pl. 48a).

A comparison of the first and last bays shows in a nutshell the direction and velocity of change in gothic design at an important transitional moment.

~~130~~

131

The study of color in the series proves equally telling. Red and blue predominate in the early Peter window (Bay 22) (Pl. 62a), the highlights being a strong gold. There is little white. The right lancet of Bay 19 (Pl. 49) follows the same heavily colored pattern, as does Bay 26 (Baptist) (Pls. 74-75), where large areas of brown are introduced and the blue/red pattern splintered in a diaper ground. Strong gold becomes increasingly important in the succeeding bays and so does white, as the more elaborate architectural frames present the opportunity for their use. Bay 18 (Pl. 48b) is a color composition in which the base has finally shifted from red and blue to yellow and white. The color of this window, like the canopywork, is not in transit; it is, in fact, the only bay in the church which has arrived stylistically in the fourteenth century. The aerial luminosity so long attributed to the introduction of the *jaune d'argent* technique has been sought in Bay 18 with pot-metal glass.[1] Silver stain, although certainly the ideal device for the lightened windows of the new century, was by no means the inceptor of the new aesthetic.

---

[1] Cf. Evron (Pl. 136), an example of another typical 14th c. feature attributed to *jaune d'argent*, that of soaring canopywork, achieved without the use of silver stain. Silver stain was probably introduced to the Chartrain area in 1328, when the Canon Guillaume Thierry was allowed to insert a horizontal strip into the foot of one of the great 13th c. windows of the south cathedral transept to light an altar he had founded (*VF*, p. 165). The strip is very advanced for its date, entirely composed of white and *jaune d'argent*. Lafond sets the 'invention' of silver stain at ca. 1310 and its earliest appearance in the Ile-de-France and Normandy 1310-1330 (Lafond in Lefrancois-Pillion, pp. 211, 234, n.41 and 236; Jean Lafond, *Trois études sur la technique du vitrail* (Essai historique sur le jaune d'argent), Rouen, 1943, pp. 55-57; Lafond, "Un vitrail du Mesnil-Villeman (1313)," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (Séance, du 8 décembre 1954), pp. 94-95).

Lefrançois ✓

Mesnil (1313) ✓ ✓

It remains to investigate the drawing styles in the narrative series. How many artists were at work? Had they participated in the apse campaign and/or the nave figure series? Is the best work of the various ensembles connected by any stylistic relationships? And did the whole shop work on a given window or was each the product of a single artisan?

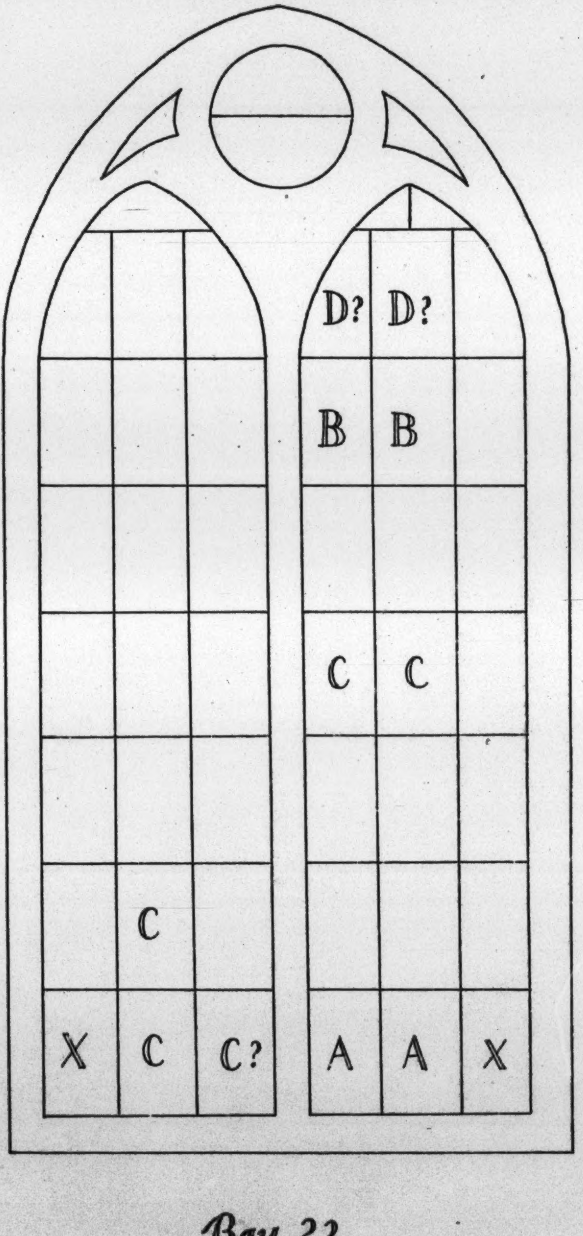
The study of the hemicycle style suggested that the master was the strong guiding hand there, responsible for the over-all plan, probably for the cartoons and their variations, and the execution of most of the figures. Some of the architectural motifs show Norman influence as do most of the tracery medallion scenes. In the nave saints series, on the other hand, the best grisaille and figure work appear together in a bay, those of the north side of consistently higher quality than their opposites.

The earliest of the narrative windows, Bay 22, presents a most complex stylistic puzzle. The window, so crucial to the dating and relationship of the various hands of the hemicycle and nave, unfortunately offers only a jig-saw puzzle of stylistic and iconographic problems. Central among these is the donor's panel, dating by inscription no earlier than ca. 1305 (Pl. 59) and yet among the stylistically early core of the panels of the window (although by no means so primitive as the standing Peter and Paul). As even the small early group is not stylistically coherent, the intended form or source of them defies solution. The present clerestory form is clearly an afterthought, an augmentation, and just as clearly, from stylistic evidence, at the vanguard of the immense glazing project donated to the nave ca. 1305-1315.

The more primitive "re-used" panels of the ensemble amount to about a quarter of the total.[1] The elapsed time between their design and their use in Bay 22 cannot have been much more than several decades, judging from the canopy forms employed. They were designed in pairs and, excepting only the earliest two (A in Fig. 7), show detailed draughtsmanship and a tight, confined arrangement,

---

[1] Bay 22 was drastically dismantled in the 18th c. and re-assembled by Charles Lorin in the restorations of ca. 1905. As some of the more primitive panels remained in the window during the interval, according to the notes of de Lasteyrie and Guilhermy in the mid-19th c., and as a Gaignières drawing (Pl. 59) done before the dismantling shows parts of some of them, it can be assumed that the earlier panels were probably an original part of the ensemble. See Chapter XI, Bay 22.


D?
D?
B
B
C
C
C
X
C
C?
A
A
X

Bay 22

7

Fig. 7

~~135~~
135

a liking for profile and full-face, comparatively small heads and elongated bodies, delicately drawn hands and gracefully positioned feet, and a tableaux-like quality. In a word, they resemble the hemicycle medallions.

The early panels of Bay 22 can be grouped as follows (compare Fig. 7 and Pl. 58):

A - panels of standing figures of Peter and Paul.
The most primitive canopy design in the window occurs in these panels. Figure proportion, canopy development and architectural motifs, as well as the draughtsmanship itself, are similar to the glazing of Sées cathedral (1270-1280).

B - the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul.
The figure style here is similar to that of the apse medallions, which also show martyrdoms. The architectural motifs of these panels are also found in the apse, in a more complex stage of development.

C - Two panels of the Fall of Simon Magus.
One panel of the Calling of Peter, and one panel of the Giving of the Keys.
These four panels, to which can be

added the donor panel of the kneeling Jean de Mantes (marked 'C?' in the diagram), exhibit a common canopy and figure style, which is graceful, static, and slightly naive in appearance.

D? - panels of the Christ Judge and the angel receiving the martyr's soul (Pl. 60b). These panels are the only other ones in the window which show any evidence of the style of the medallions in the hemicycle tracery; note especially the faces, and the hands of the 'soul' and of the angel. Their proportions and arrangement, however, are in keeping with those of the later panels of Bay 22. (Note especially the angel's expressively exaggerated embrace.)

(X - Two standing prophets. Panels of a much later date, employing silver stain, perspective columns, and a damasquined ground. The date and circumstances of their insertion into the ensemble of Bay 22 are unknown.)

While it is unfortunate that the earliest nave narrative window should present such a stylistic muddle, the deviant panels fill a gap in the history of the abbey glazing, falling as they do between the latest choir work of Bays 14-15 (ca. 1270-1280) and the hemicycle ensemble (ca. 1295-1300) and exhibiting obvious stylistic connections with both the Western and 'Norman' strains at Sées.

The typical Saint-Père narrative style takes wing in the remaining panels of Bay 22 and its course of refinement can be charted through the succeeding ensembles. Loose and sketchy draughtsmanship is combined with exaggerated gesture and a sense of mass and of movement, as in the large figures of the church. In the small scale of Bay 22 and the right lancet of Bay 19 (Pl. 52) the result is usually overcrowded chaos. At their best the figures emit a rustic charm (Annunciation to Joachim principals, Anne presenting her daughter at the steps of the temple), a sense of movement (the revived sick-man carrying his bed in Bay 22, right lancet) or of drama (the successful Simon Magus/ram story of Bay 22).

Necessary breathing space was afforded by the five-row format of the succeeding ensembles. Only Bay 26 (Baptist) (Pl. 76), the masterpiece of the series, takes full advantage of the increased space to enlarge proportions and spotlight movement.[1] It is not only size which makes the difference in Bay 26, however. The artist has combed his personae to a workable minimum, given full rein to his bent for expressionism in movement and gesture, and enriched his creation with the comforting regularity and pleasing scintillation of a latticed ground. Bay 26 is a chef d'oeuvre of dramatic narration.

---

[1] The craze for canopywork quickly absorbed the new space, especially in the hands of an inferior artist (see Bay 27, Agnes/Catherine window, Pl. 79).

While the high-water mark of the Baptist window was not maintained, features of the style appear to advantage in the remaining bays. The same dramatic simplicity which renders the scenes so clear and recognizable at the great distance appears again in the left lancet of Bay 19 (Virgin) (Pl. 52). The artist of the Virgin story, who perhaps lacks the verve of the Baptist master, has learned from him the value of a minimal set of characters and the use of the whole row of three panels as a stage. The comparison of the left Virgin lancet of Bay 19 with the older format in the right lancet pinpoints the progression from 'narration' to 'drama.'

The expressionistic exaggeration of movement and gesture which enlivens the Baptist window--note, for example, the visual pattern of the seated Herod, upper right lancet, and the two execution scenes of the left lancet--becomes the most attractive feature of Bay 23 (Sts. Clement and Denis) (Pl. 64). An iconographically complex ensemble, the right lancet of which is a visual amalgam of several famous Saint-Denis manuscripts,[1] Bay 23 is saved from utter confusion by the expressive energy of its design. The spidery saint on his trestle, the colorful mad dogs and the angular duet of the saint and his executioner at the fiery furnace are noteworthy.[2] It is interesting to note that a single scene of the early Peter window, that of the Simon Magus/ram episode (right lancet, third row from bottom) unmistakably radiates the same vigorous spirit.

In comparison Bay 27 (Sts. Agnes and Catherine) (Pl. 80) is a disappointing and confused narrative resembling the seven-row ensembles of Bays 22 and 19. Only one lesson has been learned, that of spreading a scene across all three panels. The same judgment applies, unfortunately, to the Passion of Bay 18 (Pl. 47), the window which by use of color and intricacy of canopywork takes its place as the final product of the nave series. The blame in this case falls to some degree on the model, which, from iconographic evidence, was probably an art object of the twelfth century or before.[1] The layout is confused, the drawing pedestrian, the struggles with scale sometimes pathetic. What a shame the St. Denis expressionist, who proved what could be done with an assigned model, was not put to work on the Passion.

---

[1] See Chapter XI, Bay 23.

[2] The left lancet (St. Clement) suffers from the loss of most of the lefthand panels, but the top scene of the saint with the anchor around his neck and the middle episode of the spring struck from the rock can be mentioned.

While the achievements of the Saint-Père atelier vary in the narrative series, it was unquestionably the same shop which produced the contemporary standing saints of the church. The awkward abbots and stolid bishops of the south side of the nave resemble the less skillful designs of the Passion window and the Agnes-Catherine bay just as the energetic and dramatic figures of the hemicycle compare with those of the Baptist story and Bay 23. In dealing with an art form as technically complex as stained glass it is overly bold to attempt to isolate artistic personalities. Between the extremes--i.e., the superior grasp of materials and design of the Baptist window and the pedestrianism of a bay like the Agnes-Catherine ensemble--lie traces of how many individuals? It is impossible to say. The Virgin lancet of Bay 19, for example, could be a separate artistic product or the cartoons could have been prepared by the Baptist master for execution by a less skilled assistant.[1] The Norman influence in the hemicycle and in the handful of early panels incorporated into the Peter window dies out completely. Either the responsible artist produced no more or his style absorbed characteristics of the Western atelier in which he found himself. The latter is the more attractive theory, since the large standing apostles of Bay 28 have a more varied color scheme and longer proportions with smaller heads than the other standing saints of the nave. Aside from the abortive Norman influence three stylistic types are found in the narrative group: a simplified dramatic manner (Bay 26 and left lancet of Bay 19); a style based on distortion and exaggeration (brief traces in Bay 22, particularly Simon Magus/ram scene, and Bay 23); and a less skillful group in which exaggerated gestures and naively awkward design appear in compositions which are often overcrowded and indistinct (most of Bay 22, right lancet of Bay 19, Bay 26, Bay 18).

---

[1] See Chapter XI, Bay 18.

---

[1] The Virgin lancet differs markedly from the Baptist bay in color harmony (cf. Pls. 49 and 74). The former employs clear balanced primaries; the latter aligns itself with the mannered color palette of the Laurent Voisin bay (port-wine red, clear thin blue, mustard yellow, etc.) (Pl. 56a). The color harmonies employed by the School of the West are discussed in Chapter V.

The twelve narrative lancets in the nave are products of varying quality, of several markedly personal styles, probably done in a comparatively short space of time. These are the windows for which the abbey, possibly impoverished by the hemicycle project, solicited donors. Some of the calligraphy is recognizable from that earlier atelier, however. The artist who could render the cutting of Malchus' ear (Bay 18) in such pedestrian unconcern very possibly placed his apprentice piece among the hemicycle martyrdoms. The tragic stories of Sts. Agnes and Catherine (Bay 27), hardly less tedious in rendition, contain figures of the willowy insubstantiality associated with the hemicycle's canopywork angels. The master was occupied, most likely, during these years with Bay 23 (Clement and Denis), a window which exhibits in sophistication of thought, design and handling of source materials the excellence one would expect of the hemicycle designer. Bay 26, the Baptist window, is more puzzling. The most successful narrative group in the church, it resembles the other storied bays hardly at all.[1] Its figures, fully as sculptural as those

√ g

narrative ✓

---

[1] Its only predecessor could be the left lancet of the Virgin window (Bay 19), which shows a similar talent for dramatic simplicity. Whether this lancet is an earlier project by the Baptist master or the work of an assistant under his control is an open question.

of the hemicycle, are lightly touched by a mannerist sway. The draughtsmanship is closer to the better quality nave saints (generally speaking those on the north) than to the hemicycle, and its archaic ground resembles the diaper which originally framed the standing saints of Bays 20 and 21. The force of a new personality emerges within the old framework.

Generally speaking each of the narrative windows of the nave speaks a consistent tongue in all its composite scenes.[1] The fact that the traceable progression in elaboration of canopywork and in color harmony does not closely parallel the styles of scene design, however, would indicate that a master planner exerted some control throughout the campaign. The narrative windows of Saint-Père form a unified artistic expression in spite of variations of execution. The strength of the Western style is the more noteworthy considering these variations, a vigorous style relying on exaggerated features and gestures, simplified harmonies of color and sketchy, loose drawing, a style in which grace and elegance surrender unconditionally to power and energy.

---

[1] The obvious exception is Bay 22 (Peter window). Each lancet of the Virgin bay (Bay 19) is stylistically homogeneous within itself.

CHAPTER V

THE WESTERN SCHOOL OF STAINED GLASS

Saint-Père is the chief monument in a school of regional glass painting in France which can be called the School of the West.[1] Possibly an offshoot of the latest work in the north transept of Chartres cathedral, ca. 1235, the school developed and flourished for almost a century to follow. It was represented to a greater or lesser degree in most of the monuments of importance to be glazed during that period in Maine and Touraine, in a geographical area situated to the southwest of Paris between the fringes of Normandy on the north and the territory of the old Angevin dynasty to the west and south. An occasional detail adopted from the more elegant glass style of Normandy appears in this body of western windows, the most unequivocal being the use of small gargoyles and figures in canopywork.[2] A

lesser

Maine

---

[1] Grodecki has long suspected the existence of such a school, which he tentatively grouped around Tours (conversation, 1958). Lafond reported in 1954: "M. Louis Grodecki estime que les vitraux de Saint-Père de Chartres et de Vendôme procedent d'une Ecole de l'Ouest de la France (Poitiers, Tours)." (Jean Lafond, "Le vitrail du XIVe siècle en France," in Louise Lefrançois-Pillion, *L'Art du XIVe siècle en France* (Paris, 1954), p. 235, n. 58). In a letter of April 1967 Grodecki has explained that one of his reasons for grouping the western school around Tours was the commonly held assumption that none of the Saint-Père glass pre-dated the choir architecture.

[2] Western examples: Saint-Père hemicycle; Vendôme Bays K and L; Evron.

more consequential source of inspiration, however, was probably to the east, in particular Auxerre and Troyes cathedrals[1] at the formative stages and possibly Saint-Urbain de Troyes later on. Many germinal ideas either originating there or transferred by that path from late twelfth century Rémois glass painting--the list ranges from basic issues of scale and layout to minor details such as the popularity of the profile figure--were to find their greatest field of experimentation not in Burgundy or Champagne but in the Western School.

The influence of the Sainte-Chapelle at mid-century may explain this phenomenon. Parisian windows appeared in both East and West in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.[2] No eastern school emerged from the art of Semur-en-Auxois and Auxerre, however, to challenge the preeminence of Parisian ideas[3] as the Western School succeeded in doing.

---

[1] See Chapter II, discussion of Auxerre and Troyes.

[2] Notable examples in the east are: Saint-Julien-du-Sault, ca. 1250; Troyes cathedral, lateral chapel windows (see Jean Lafond, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Troyes," Congrès archéologique, CXIII (1955), p. 29 et suiv.). In the west: Tours, most of the choir clerestory; Le Mans, upper ambulatory lights (excepting only Bay d, the "Evron window").

[3] Grodecki in VF, p. 118 and p. 155 (discussing Saint-Julien-du-Sault).

It resisted the intrusion of the precise and elegant Norman style with the same vigor.[1] The Western School is one of the rare strongly individual regional styles of glass painting to emerge before the next century.

What are the characteristics of western glass? Chiefly a sometimes crude expressive force and a freer, less precise draughtsmanship. Color and scale also are employed to communicate an intensity of mood. The typical color gamut--though not the only one--of the developed work of the western school is a co-mingling in almost equal parts of the three primary colors. The resultant design is brilliant, occasionally even gaudy. A strange mottled green and shades of brown make another typical combination, not at all gaudy, but not Parisian either in its almost mannered effect.

---

[1] Tightly drawn 'Norman' windows appear occasionally among the glass of western ensembles. Note Le Mans, Bays C and K (ca. 1255); Sées, 13th c. glass of north transept and apsidal chapels (ca. 1280); and La Trinité, Vendôme, Bays H and J (Geoffroy Martel) (ca. 1305ff.). Compare the latter, particularly, to the contemporary Sts. Edward and Louis series from Fécamp. (Recent bibliography: Jean Lafond, "Les vitraux de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Fécamp," chap. XLVIII of *Fécamp, l'Abbaye bénédictine, ouvrage scientifique du treizième centenaire*, III (1961), pp. 97-120, 253-64 and Addenda, p. 105; Madeline Harrison, "A Life of St. Edward the Confessor in Early Fourteenth-Century Stained Glass at Fécamp, in Normandy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVI (1963), pp. 22-37).

Very thick and irregularly blown glass was used, "d'une sorte de beauté rustique que l'on pourrait comparer à celle de la faïence, pendant que les verres (of Normandy) sont comme de la porcelaine fine."[1] The difficulty in observing this quality in glass--the window should actually be taken down, if a clerestory--has prevented the gathering of conclusive evidence. In the triforium of the apse of Tours, it has been noted,[2] *bosselage du verre* is common in many pieces, the heads and hands often painted on *verres bosselés* to accentuate their physiognomy. The Saint-Père panels included in the 1953 Paris exhibition proved a similar case for that monument.

An interest in large scale preoccupied the western glaziers. As all of the remaining windows of the school are at least at triforium level the typical large single figure would seem a logical choice. Small scenes and medallions, however, were far from banished from upper lights in later thirteenth century French glazing. In the Tours chevet, for example, beautiful Parisian medallion clerestories far outnumber the two upper bays (Pls. 108-109) and the series of the hemicycle triforium (Pls. 110-116) by the glaziers of the School of the West. Le Mans is another site where the two rival styles keep house together. The western saints and prophets maintain a sense of isolation and mass which is more akin to large-scale portal sculpture than to other schools of glass painting. It is precisely this sculptural quality which begins to disintegrate in the final phases of the western style, ca. 1320, at Evron (see Pls. 136ff.).

---

[1] Louis Grodecki, *Vitraux de France du XIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1953) (catalog of exposition *Vitraux de France* at Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1953), pp. 24-25.

[2] Chanoine H. Boissonnot, *Les verrières de la cathédrale de Tours* (Paris, 1932), pp. 44-46.

The Western School experimented creatively, throughout its course of development, with problems of layout. The giant single figure 'medallions' of the Saint-Père choir are an interesting example, possibly adapted from designs in Troyes cathedral (Pls. 96-97), and ultimately from the handful of large medallions at Chartres.[1] After Saint-Père the 'medallion' idea was discarded entirely and canopies employed, often incorporating Norman gargoyles but otherwise composed of a large and quite distinctive group of decorative motifs, again ultimately derived from Chartres.[1] The combination of canopied figures with grisaille was a transitional problem fully exploited in the western school. The 'band windows' of the Tours (Pls. 108, 109) and Sées clerestories (Pl. 123ff.) are pioneering examples of a familiar fourteenth century arrangement, "Une formule appelée à un grand avenir."[2] At Saint-Père at almost the same moment (ca. 1275) bands of color and grisaille were being combined in vertical alternation. The vertical pattern lived on in the later work at Saint-Père after 1300, while western glaziers at Vendôme tried in Bay G an arrangement of the figure-band across the bottom of the bay.[3] At Evron (Pl. 112 right, 113) the latter layout appears, but instead of grisaille the designer has substituted the grotesquely elongated canopies which were to become

---

[1] See Chapter II, discussion of Chartres medallions.

---

[1] Compare the list of motifs infra with examples in Chartres (for example Bay 61, the Joseph window, Bays 105, 134).

[2] Grodecki in VF, p. 156.

[3] See footnote 1, p.182 .

fn. 1, p. 182 ✓

~~148~~
150

another commonplace of the glass painting of a later century.[1]

The adventurous spirit and expressive energy of western glazing throughout a period of transition in French glass painting are noteworthy. The stylistic cohesion of the school is attested by many characteristic decorative motifs and an occasional iconographic oddity.[2] Architectural and decorative elements which appear as early as the first Saint-Père panels, ca. 1240-1245, can be found at Le Mans a decade later and in succeeding monuments enriched by a developing range of detail. The three late monuments of the school, Saint-Père, Vendôme and Evron, exhibit a conjunction of similar motifs as unmistakable as a signature. The work of the western school can be charted as follows:

Chartres, north transept	ca. 1235
Saint-Père, glass of choir[3]	ca. 1240-1245
Le Mans, several bays of choir clerestory[4]	ca. 1250-1260

---

[1] Lafond, XIV, p. 212: "On n'a donc pas attendu le XVe siècle pour 'concevoir le dais comme une flèche de cathédrale, avec ses contreforts, ses arcs-boutants, ses fleurons..' Et ce n'est pas l'invention du jaune d'argent--absent ici aussi--qui a provoqué l'essor des tabernacles."

g
(lower case g)

[2] Barnabas holding a flame is the most significant example of a regional iconographic deviation. Rarity that he is he appears at Sées, Saint-Père (twice), Vendôme and Evron. See Chapter X, Bay 28.

[3] Excepting Bays 14-15 and not in present arrangement. See text infra.

[4] Grodecki: "Ce style est peut-être le dernier stade de l'évolution amorcée par les ateliers chartrains des roses du transept, vers 1225-1235; mais nous manquons totalement de preuves pour l'affirmer" (VF, p. 320a, n. 62).

Tours, two bays of clerestory and the apse triforium series	ca. 1260-1270
Saint-Père, Bays 14-15 and present choir arrangement (employing older glass)	ca. 1270
Sées, choir clerestory[1]	ca. 1270-1285
Saint-Père apse and nave clerestories	ca. 1295-1315

---

[1] The windows of Sées (Orne) and Evron (Mayenne), ensembles that merit greater scholarly attention, have usually been included in the past with the Normandy school because of their geographical proximity. See Marcel Aubert, *VF*, p. 167 (Evron) and Jean Lafond, "Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Sées," *Congrès archéologique*, CXI (1953), p. 80, but also p. 76 and n. 3. Lafond's article is nevertheless a marvelous pioneer work. Some of the glass of the Sées ambulatory and transept chapels, to which he devotes the greater part of his attention, is indeed Normandy work as is some of the remaining debris in the transept clerestories. Related to the School of the West, however, are the choir clerestory figures, whose bodies Lafond calls "trapus à l'excès et parfois difformes" and whose faces he labels "souvent d'une laideur cocasse," at the same time acknowledging a magnificent sonority of color. The St. Peter from the Sées choir (Pl. 121) now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (no. C727-1909); it was described in 1936 by Bernard Rackham in a pithy note which could as easily have been written to characterize the entire Western School: "The powerful effect . . . is enhanced by the simplicity of its colouring. . . . The characteristic economy of the painting should also be noticed. Brushwork is reduced to a minimum. . . ." (*A Guide to the Collections of Stained Glass* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, Department of Ceramics, 1936), p. 26 and pl. 1).

magnificent

~~150~~

152

Vendôme, La Trinité, choir clerestories[1]	ca. 1306ff.
Evron, choir clerestories (including fragments probably from Evron now in Philadelphia Museum and the Raymond Pitcairn collection)[2]	ca. 1320

The glazing of Saint-Père de Chartres is the largest and most cohesive body of work of the School of the West. Comprising, as it does, some of the earliest identifiable work of the school as well as important examples of design and arrangement from the developing period and more windows in the mature style than the other two late monuments together, it is indeed the school's pivotal monument. A skeletal outline of the chronological development of the Western School therefore will at the same time provide a clear framework for discussion of the relationships of the Saint-Père glass to other regional monuments.

---

[1] In the absence of recent archival research on La Trinité it is impossible to corroborate a general feeling among some glass scholars that the glass style predates 1306, the documented date of the beginning of the architectural campaign. See Lafond, XIV, p. 212. (Grodecki in correspondence, April 1967, indicates that he does not concur with Lafond in this matter.) The most puzzling window of all is the one including St. Louis, canonized in 1297 (Bay L, Pl. 131, which contains two grisaille designs of a transitional type common in the last third of the thirteenth century. See footnote 1, p. 180.

Fn. 1, p. 180 ✓

[2] See footnote 2, p. 188 and footnote 1, p.196. Grodecki (conversation, 1958) tentatively attributed the Pennsylvania fragments to Vendôme; Lafond did likewise in conversation in 1965. A panel in the Glasgow Museum probably can be added to the group.

Fn. 2, p.188 ✓
Fn. 1, p. 196

Add to note →

The School of the West apparently did not radiate from a central model[1] but developed in a gradual and more organic manner. The relationship of the prophets of the Saint-Père choir, the early work of the school, to the latest glazing of the north transept of the cathedral is not at all clear. Toward the end of the campaign of Chartres cathedral a style of greater expressive power and even brutality appeared, in the south rose (ca. 1220), then the north rose (ca. 1223-1233) and the western clerestories of that transept (ca. 1225-1235).[2] The Saint-Père prophets of ten to fifteen years later are several steps further along the path. Similar decorative elements can be found, but not employed in the same roles, and just how much of a debt the fierce and almost theatrical prophets owe directly to the more hieratic personnages of the Chartres transept[3] is

---

fn. 1 p. 144

[1] The situation Grodecki envisioned (see footnote 1, p. 144) had Tours acting as inspirational center for Vendôme, Evron, Saint-Père and 'the last windows of the LeMans choir clerestory, nearest the north transept.'

[2] See especially Grodecki in VF, pp. 130, 134.

[3] The figures of the eastern clerestories of the Chartres transepts are currently under study by Jan Van der Meulen, who considers them probable early-Renaissance copies (or original designs?). See: "A Logos Creator at Chartres and its Copy," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, XXIX (1966), pp. 82ff. (esp. p. 96). Of the eastern clerestories he questions all but Bays 99-100, 102 (St. Denis giving oriflame to Clement), and 136-37 ("large medallion" windows). The western clerestories of the transepts, however, contain examples of all of the types of interest to a discussion of the School of the West: Bays 86-87 and 92-93 have double borders; Bay 89 has disputing pairs (Bay 90 also, now lost); Bays 149-50 and 152-53 are "large medallion" windows.

difficult to judge. The Saint-Père figures do not occupy their original positions at present. What remains of the first layout, a bizarre attempt to combine huge figures in an elephantine medallion and diaper framework, echoes an older design in the Chartres apse (Delaporte CXVIII), but perhaps only very faintly. It could have been adopted from more contemporary designs at Troyes (Bays L and T) or from further north,[1] or it could have been invented independently.

The parentage of the profile pose used so effectively at Saint-Père (for example, Pls. 32, 41) and again at Tours[2] (Pls. 114, 116) is not typically Chartrain either. The likeliest source would again appear to be Burgundy/Champagne, where strikingly similar dramatic figures emerge later in the more nervous glazing style of Saint-Urbain de Troyes (ca. 1270's) (Pls. 101-104) and once in the rather more stolid apostles at Châlons-sur-Marne (ca. 1275).[3]

---

[1] See discussion of Tournai in Chapter II.

[2] Bourassé and Manceau, *Verrières du choeur de l'église métropolitaine de Tours* (Paris-Tours, 1849), pl. XVI.

[3] The profile was maintained as late as Saint-Ouen de Rouen (Bay 236, S. IVDAS). Not native to Normandy, its appearance at Saint-Ouen, I believe is another hint of a connection between that monument and Saint-Père.

Unfortunately no evidence now remains of the missing link, a common ancestor of Saint-Père and Saint-Urbain.[1]

In the 'west' the logical monument to provide continuity between Chartrain art and the early windows of Saint-Père would be Angers, but a search there for origins of the western group under discussion in this chapter yields nothing. Only the single later medallion window of St. Julien, dated 'après 1240 et jusque vers 1260,' shows comparable head-to-body proportions and expressive silhouetting. It is, however, an art much less 'brutal' and violent than the group under discussion, as Grodecki and Hayward noted[2] in comparing this exceptional window to the central clerestory of Le Mans (Bay G, discussed below). Auxerre, Troyes and ultimately the Rémois art seem more likely antecedents.

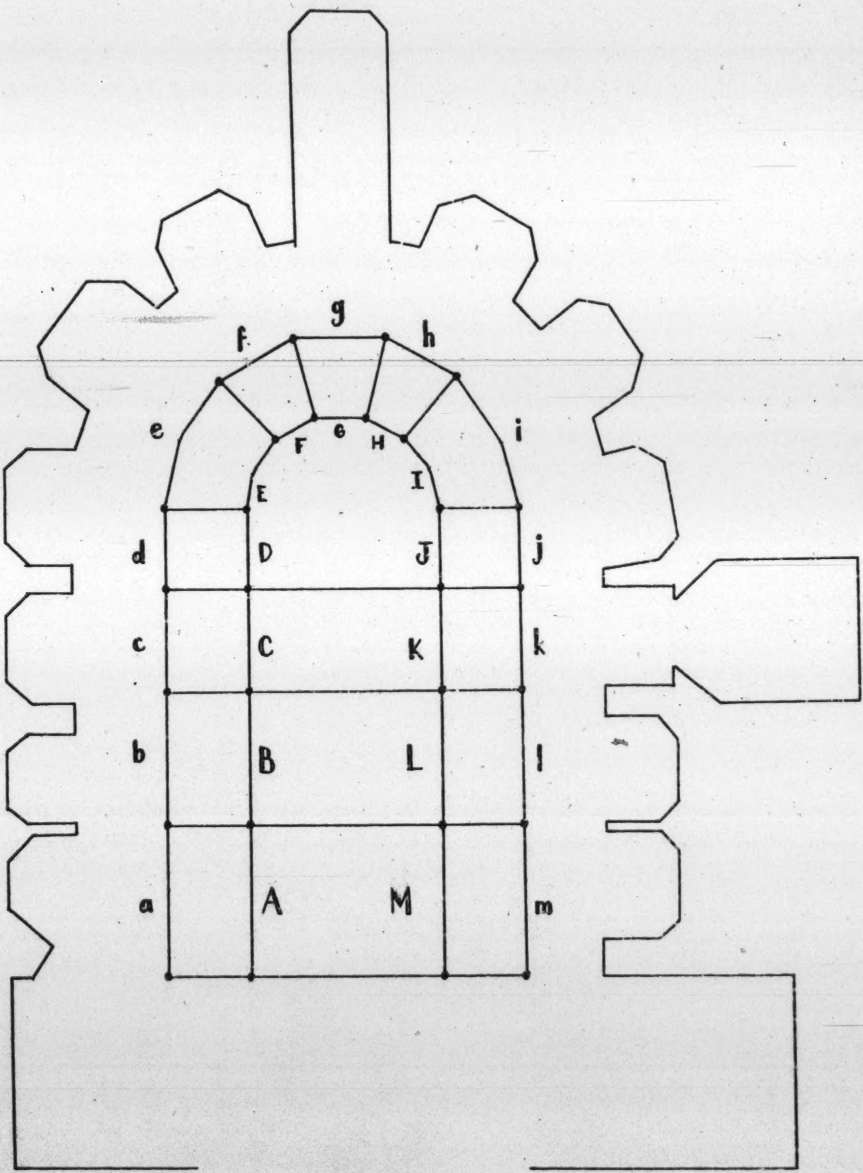
The choir of Auxerre, in particular, contains large scale figures of a marked expressionism. Grodecki writes:

---

[1] It is disappointing not to find facial profiles in the glass of the triforium of Troyes cathedral, an ensemble which otherwise has the appearance of the common ancestor of Saint-Père and Saint-Urbain de Troyes. The Troyes triforium glass is, however, so largely restoration that it provides highly suspect evidence at best. See footnote 2, p. 157.

fn. 2
p 157

[2] See Jane Hayward and Louis Grodecki, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers," Bulletin monumental, CXXIV (1966), esp. p. 52 and n. 2, illustrations pp. 50-51 (N-2 and N-3, nos. 31 and 30).


g
f
h
e
F
G
H
i
E
I
d
D
J
j
c
C
K
k
b
B
L
l
a
A
M
m

Le Mans

Fig. 8

> Dans les fenêtres hautes--dont le style revient, pour le principe, à l'art chartrain--on voit une autre modalité de ces exagérations expressives, qui touchent, ici, à la brutalité. . . .[1]

The less well-known triforium[2] of Troyes cathedral (Pls. 98-99) contains figures as distorted and expressionistic as the most extreme designs of Le Mans. At the same time the stamp of Saint-Remi upon them is unmistakable.

The conclusion seems unavoidable that if the School of the West derives from a late, 'brutal' strain at Chartres, it is through an intermediary, and that intermediary is not western but from Burgundy.

9 = 8
of

Le Mans (Fig. 8), a cathedral which has cropped up in the discussion of origins of the western style, is the next western monument after the early group at Saint-Père. The crude expressiveness, the unusual coloration and many of the decorative motifs which characterize the choir of Saint-Père appear in a number of the windows of the choir clerestory of Le Mans (ca. 1250-1260). Two or even three large figures are superimposed in this series, under canopies, in a bewildering array of styles. An extremely distorted, almost cartoon style appears in Bays A (Pl. 105), F and G, while windows such as Bay C (Pl. 107) and Bay K run to the other extreme, tightly drawn and quite dull in design. The mélange of styles is coupled with the same range of color harmonies. The medallion windows of the upper ambulatory just below the clerestory, for example, are beautiful Parisian windows of a rather dry design but glowing and throbbing with color. Blue and red, hardly alleviated to any significant degree by white or other light tones, form the basis of the harmony. The same marriage of unrelieved blue and red is found in most of the clerestory.

---

[1] VF, p. 140.

[2] The triforium of Troyes cathedral is filled with standing figures of prophets and patriarchs. Almost all of the roundels above the lancets are original (larger percentage of restoration in north bays than in south), as are many heads. The lower panels of all lancets, however, are suspect, as are the inscriptions. Generally speaking the hemicycle windows contain much more old glass than those of the choir; the easternmost bays of the choir are generally in better shape than the bays near the transepts.

The coloration of the cartoonlike bays, A, F and G, however, differs markedly (see Pl. 105a). Based on the predominance of blue, the tonality is brightened by a considerable amount of white and yellow both in borders and in large areas such as robes or mantles of the figures themselves. Red is truly a secondary color.[1] This is precisely the color gamut of the early Saint-Père figures (for example, Pl. 46), a dark and opulent scheme of deep blue grounds with opaque white, strong yellow and heavy shades of dark green and brown.

---

[1] The Troyes and Auxerre clerestories also exhibit a blue-centered color gamut. Saint-Urbain de Troyes, more than a quarter-century later, has a blue/red harmony, much more varied in secondary tones than the School of the West.

The clerestories of Le Mans are closer in ferocity of spirit to the early style of Saint-Père than is any other remaining monument. Their large scale is in part responsible, but large expressive hands and eyes, and a few heads in modified profile,[1] also are employed in the same manner. The extreme distortion of the three 'blue' bays of Le Mans exceeds the intensity of Saint-Père, however, and reaches the high water mark for the Western School. It is in the less caricaturelike windows of Le Mans, Bay B for example (Pl. 106), that the mood coincides.

Mention has been made previously of the similar vocabulary of decorative motifs at Le Mans and Saint-Père. While it is difficult and possibly misleading to discuss such elements in a period when glaziers often seem to have spoken in a common tongue, the point is worth noting. The clerestory of Le Mans, which carries a heavy load of decoration in architectural motifs and inscriptions[1] as well as borders and diapering, contains motifs which can be found in both the prophets group of Saint-Père of ca. 1240-1245 and the later additions to the choir ca. 1270 (Bays 14-15).[2] A list of motifs from one window at Le Mans, "Le vitrail du baptême du defensor" (Bay A) (Pl. 105), will suffice to illustrate:[3] border with two-sprigged floriate pattern (like rosette, Saint-Père Bay 10, Pl. 27); frontal houses with black outlined arcades (like Saint-Père Bay 8, Pl. 23); brickwork of doubled vertical lines (Bays 14-15, Pls. 37 and 39); outlined black trefoils (Bay 17, Pl. 45); black 'false inscription' bands placed behind heads of figures with scratched pattern ending in stem with three-lobed barb (Bays 14-15); doubled half circles (fan-tile) roofing (Bay 16, Pl. 43; Bay 8); alternating ovals and diamonds with one side outlined, divided by two dots (seen often on drapery, books, etc.); patterns of double-lined scallops and of undulating lines embellished with tiny circles. One would be a fool to build a school on such flimsy foundations, but the evidence provides some corroboration of observations in other aspects of design.

---

[1] There are no true profiles at Le Mans.

---

[1] Generally speaking the lettering style at Le Mans is more advanced, although it varies as considerably as do the other elements of design. The two right lancets of Bay B (which do not match the other lancets) have the lettering most resembling Saint-Père.

fn. 1 p. 149

[2] See also footnote 1, p. 149.

[3] Compare the chart of later western decorative vocabulary infra.

What makes the ensemble of Le Mans so peculiar is the uneven spread of western elements of design. In color western influence centers in the three 'blue' bays, A, F and G. In figure style and spirit other bays such as B must be added, excluding with certainty only the static and primly drawn figures of Bays C and K[1] (which face each other across the choir). The decorative motifs appear in almost all windows of the ensemble. One is forced to assume that the shop comprised artists of several backgrounds working together. It is interesting to note that the axial bay, ordinarily a prestige commission, is a window of the most extreme and caricaturelike workmanship (Bay G, given by Geoffroy de Loudun, bishop who presided at the consecration of the new choir in 1254) (Pl. 106).[2]

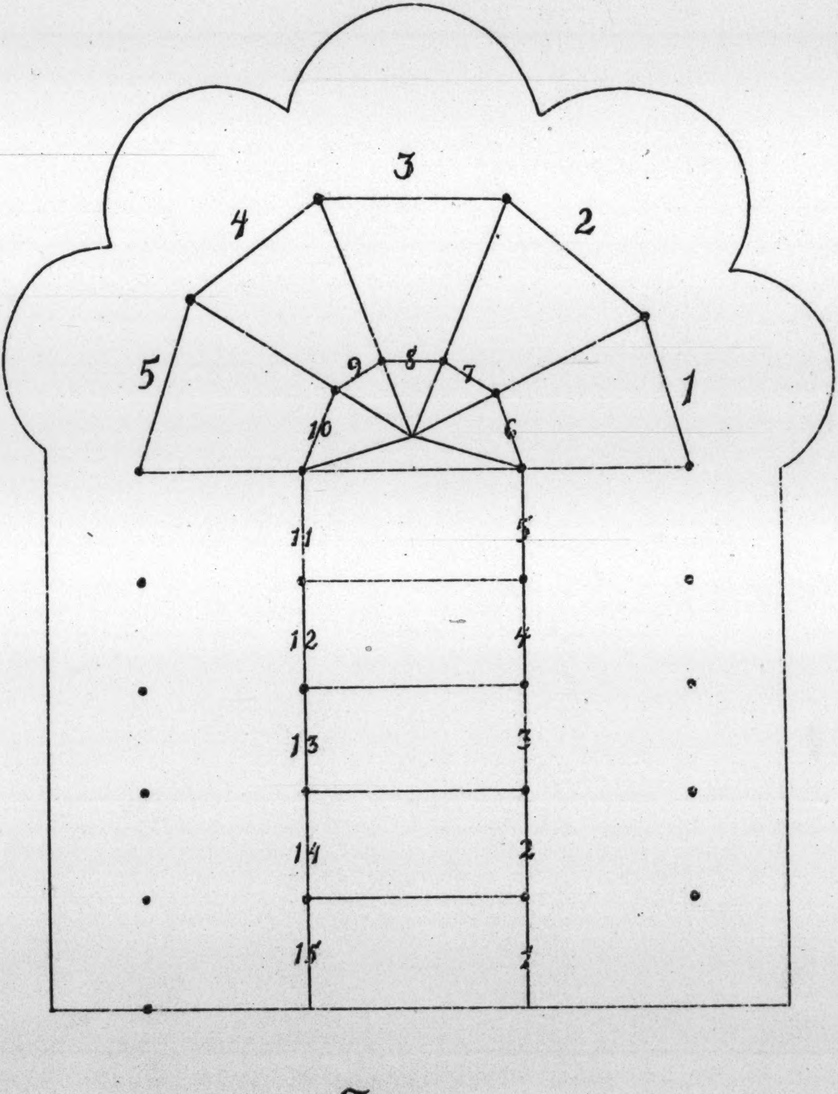
---

[1] Another combination of western elements with unwestern figure style appears in the two band-windows of the Tours clerestory. See discussion infra.

had

[2] Geoffroy de Loudun had presided two years earlier, in 1252, at the consecration of a new church (since replaced) of Evron. See footnote 1, p. 175.

fn. 1 p. 175 ✓


3
4
2
5
1
9
8
7
10
6
11
5
12
4
13
3
14
2
15
1

Tours

Fig. 9

10=9

Artists of varying backgrounds also worked together in the exquisite chevet of Tours (ca. 1257-1280), the next glazing site of importance in the Western School (Fig. 9). Their roles are more easily untangled at Tours, however. The windows of western influence, set in close proximity to the Parisian medallion glass of the clerestory lights, are the two well-known 'band-windows' of the upper level (Pls. 108, 109) and the series of standing apostles in the apse triforium (Pls. 110ff.). The former pair, "anti-Parisian" in layout, contain two bands of standing figures set between layers of grisaille in one of the earliest examples of what was to become a standard fourteenth century composition. The latter series consists of standing apostles with attributes, one to a light, in no sort of framework at all, neither medallion nor canopy.

The two band-windows of the clerestory, which face each other across the choir, are Bay 5 (Canons of Loches) and Bay 11 (Eight Bishops). The figures themselves do not differ noticeably in pose or draughtsmanship from the slightly mannered Parisian work which surrounds them. Their coloration is more advanced, however. The rich red/blue medley of the medallions, a color grouping never popular in

164

the School of the West, is rejected for a gamut of those hues brightened considerably by large areas of strong yellow, white or green.

More notably, the conception of combining grisaille and large canopied figures at clerestory level makes a precocious bow in these two windows. The comparison of the Tours band-windows with the almost contemporary experiments in grisaille/color combination at Saint-Père illustrates one of the preoccupations of the Western School. The Saint-Père choir window tracery is virtually identical with Tours in design (cf. Pls. 23 and 108).[1] The grisaille and figures which were arranged in them ca. 1270 were layered, not horizontally as at Tours, but vertically in alternating lancets. The Saint-Père design is equally valid but likely to be effective only if used in a large ensemble. There can be little doubt that the banding arrangement provides greater compositional unity for an isolated window, and the vote of posterity thus went to Tours.

---

[1] The architectural similarity of the choirs of the two monuments has been noted by Delaporte (as reported by Lafond, XIV, p. 235, n. 58). Tours may well have been the model for the rebuilt choir of Saint-Père, as he believes. In addition to general similarities the following details are notable: trefoiled balustrade (straight choir of Tours); indented spandrels (piers of Tours chevet, Saint-Père straight choir triforium); no imposts (Tours triforium capitals; Saint-Père triforium, some of the vault springers, meneaux of clerestory tracery). See Chapter I, Building.

The grisaille of Bays 5 and 11 of Tours is a simple pattern occupying a position in the evolution of style between the early grisaille of most of the Saint-Père choir (ca. 1240-1245) and the contemporary work of Saint-Père Bays 14-15. A centralized pattern on a cross-hatched ground like the earlier work (Saint-Père Bays 10 and 11, Pl. 28b, are particularly close), the leading and white filet design, however, have begun to form the 'bulged-quarry' pattern which became a commonplace in the later thirteenth century.[1] The idealized palmettes show the dessication typical of their stylistic old-age. The contemporary work at Saint-Père (choir Bays 14-15, Pl. 37 and 39), while retaining some older elements in common, shows a progression. Its vertical stems and rising foliage, as well as the more regular lozenge leading, belong to the future.

---

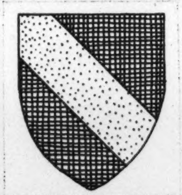
[1] The four grisaille designs reconstituted by M. Marchand from old fragments in the Tours triforium resemble the Tours clerestory grisaille and also that of Vendôme. (Bourassé and Manceau, pl. XVII).

The intensity and drama typical of the figure style of the School of the West are found at Tours, not in the well-mannered clerestory ecclesiastics, however, but in the impressive series of apostles filling the lights of the apse triforium (Pls. 110ff.). Not as well-known as the upper glazing,[1] they provide the missing link between the early and late styles of Saint-Père.[2] In color (see Pl. 117)

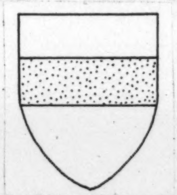
---

[1] Two escutcheons in the tracery lights of the first triforium window to the south of the axial have never been discussed, to my knowledge, in scholarly literature or guidebooks. They are:

(1) SA. a bend OR



(2) ARG. a fesse OR



In (1), the sable is relieved in the window by a delicate scratched pattern. It is a blazon frequent in the region of Laval and Alençon (see BN ms.fr. 32246, Armorial général, Blasons coloriés, v. 19 Normandie-Alençon, especially p. 1004, no. 257). I have been unable to localize the second escutcheon, an oddity since metals customarily are not superimposed upon one another in heraldry.

[2] The chronological link at Saint-Père itself, i.e., the figures of Bays 14-15, occupy narrow lancets which restrict any dramatic movement to gesture and facial expression.

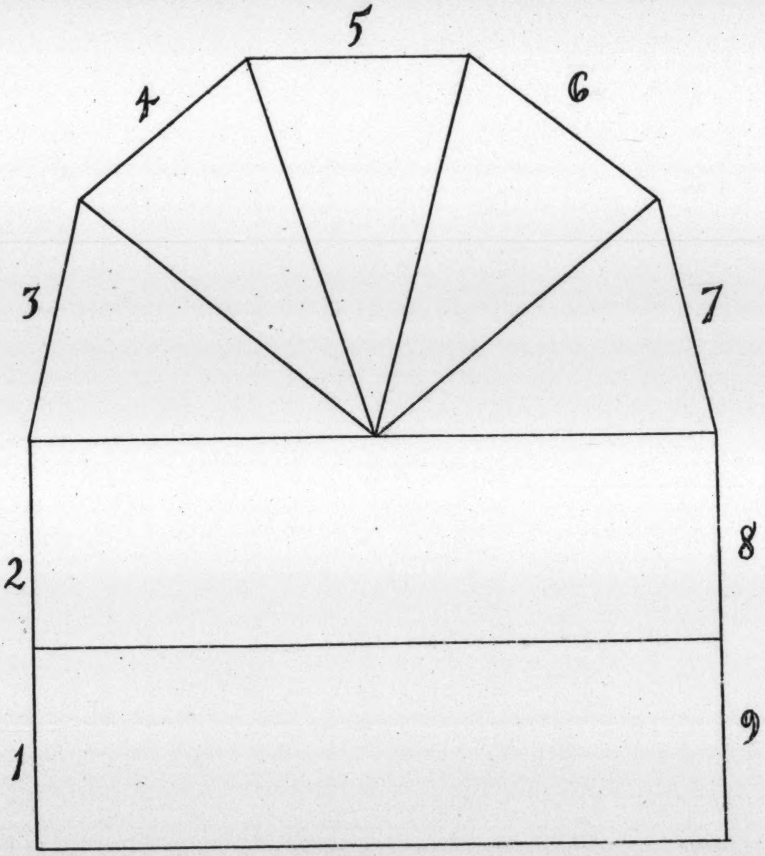
they exhibit the gay balanced trio of primary tones typical of the late western monuments (Saint-Père apse, various windows at Evron and Vendôme), while the green hair and beard of the saint in the northwesternmost window recalls the more expressionistic figure coloration of both the early Saint-Père work and that of ca. 1270.[1] In pose the progression is even clearer. The Tours apostles exhibit the sculptural quality and hieratic stance already present in the early Saint-Père prophets, infused with the increased adrenaline so noticeably present in the Saint-Père apsidal group. Compare, for example, the figures in pure profile (Tours triforium, Bays 3 and 5) with their earlier counterparts in Saint-Père Bays 8, 12, 16 and 17. The peculiar impression of the ensemble in the Saint-Père hemicycle--of so many deaf-mutes energetically attempting to communicate with the spectator--begins to appear at Tours.

mutes

Physiognomy and the expressionistic distortion of hand gesture are chiefly responsible. The similarity of gesture between the saints of Tours and Saint-Père is

---

[1] Bays 8, 9, 11 and 16 of the earlier glazing contain blue hair or beards; Bays 14 and 15, ca. 1270, have figures with blue or green hair. In the Troyes triforium (bay to north of axial) one figure has purple hair and another has light blue hair.



Sées

Bay numbers from Lafond.

Fig. 10

~~14~~
169

striking.[1] Most of the typical pointing and grasping positions had appeared first in the early prophet series of Saint-Père, where the hands were more mittenlike in appearance. The exaggerated drawing of the later Saint-Père work seems to have been introduced at Tours. The same evolution is visible in the flapperlike feet with their long wiry toes[2] although--the early Saint-Père prophets being shod--only the foot positions can be traced through all three stages.[3]

The nine choir windows of Sées cathedral (Orne) (Fig. 10), much less well-known[4] than either Tours or Le Mans, follow fast on the Tours glazing in date. The architecture is beautiful Norman work and it is evident by the mixture of glass styles that there was at least one Norman active

11=10

---

[1] Note especially the outstretched hand of Saint-Père Bay 4 and Tours Bays 2 and 3; the clenched hand of Saint-Père Bay 2 and Tours Bays 3 and 5; the palm-up gesture of Saint-Père Bay 14 and Tours Bay 4; the scooplike hand holding a book, Saint-Père Bay 1 and Tours Bay 4.

[2] The lower panels in the Tours triforium have suffered and now contain much restored glass. Enough old feet remain to provide safe ground for generalization, however.

[3] Le Mans Bay A (Pl. 105) shows, at an earlier date, the same preoccupation with the decorative possibilities of toes.

[4] See Lafond's brilliant introductory study cited in footnote 1, p. 151. He will devote his attention again to Sées in a volume to appear in the French Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi.

- fn.1 ✓
p.151

in the glaziers' atelier. Much of the thirteenth century glass in the lower chapels (chevet and north transpet) is confused, restored and evidently reassembled, complicating stylistic analysis almost hopelessly.[1]

The clerestory windows (Pls. 123ff.) form a more coherent stylistic group, one with undeniable affiliations to the School of the West. All the nine upper bays of the chevet contain standard 'band-windows,' that is, a single band of figures set horizontally across the lancets between layers of grisaille. The figures stand, or more rarely kneel, beneath simple canopies on no architectural bases at all.[2] This rather rudimentary framework, the transitional grisaille patterns and the lettering style found in occasional inscriptions perfectly corroborate the date ca. 1270-1280 assigned to the ensemble by Lafond on the basis of his identification of donors. The bandwindows of Sées, therefore, are hardly less precocious than the duo at Tours.

---

[1] A tighter, probably Norman facture is evident in much of the chapel glass, for example: the three eastern lancets of the northeast transept chapel; some panels of the St. Nicolas group (chapel 1, northeast); the "Ami.-Dieu" window of Chapel 2; St. Protais in the Chapelle de la Vierge (illustrated in Lafond, "Sées," p. 65). In the same chapels--even occasionally in the same windows--unmistakably western detail appears. The long exaggerated hands of the standing St. Nicolas (Chapel 1, illustrated in "Sées," p. 71) are identical with those of many late figures in the Saint-Père nave.

[2] The ca. 1270 bays of Saint-Père, Bays 14 and 15, have large bases unique for their date. There are no bases at Tours nor in any of the late western ensembles.

The most evident western element at Sées is the somewhat crude distortion of figures.[1] In figure scale and proportion and in the draughtsmanship of the overlarge hands and feet the Sées apostles and saints most closely resemble their later compatriots at Vendôme and Evron. All features occur in a less stubby scale in the nave of Saint-Père as well. The distortion in some of these saints, for example the apostles of Bay 3 (northeasternmost bay of apse, Pl. 125), recalls the most extreme examples of Le Mans. The art of Sées more closely allies itself with the unpolished primitive force of Le Mans and the Saint-Père nave than with the nervousness found in the Tours triforium and the Saint-Père hemicycle. It may be more a question of quality than intent.

✓ apse

---

[1] The axial clerestory alone must be excepted. It exhibits a tighter draughtsmanship found in the lower chapel windows. The glass has deteriorated to a much greater degree than any of the other chevet windows.

The force of such expressionistic designs depends largely on color. The typical coloration of Sées is the gaudy balance of primaries already noted in other western monuments. In the most extreme cases (Bay 1, northwesternmost of chevet, and Bays 4 and 6 which frame the axial window), red is the sole ground color and yellow and blue almost the only tones used in robes.

The figure canopies are composed of many motifs common in the western school of glazing and of the usual blocklike solidity. They perfectly fill the gap between the simpler experiments of Saint-Père Bays 14-15 and the developed work of the Saint-Père hemicycle and nave. Motifs present at Le Mans and even in the early Saint-Père prophet series are beginning to grow and combine in a manner typical of the late western ensembles. A progression is visible even within the Sées group. The more complex architectural patterns found in Bay 9 (southwesternmost window of chevet, Pl. 127) clearly approach the form of canopies of the Saint-Père hemicycle.

Sées was evidently glazed in a very short time by a large and diversified group of glaziers. In addition to much of the chapel glazing, the axial clerestory figures were probably of Norman rather than western workmanship. So too was most of the upper grisaille.[1] Grisaille closer to the early Saint-Père and Tours type, on the other hand, is found in the axial clerestory.[2] In the similarly centripetal grisaille pattern in the axial chapel foliage grows, in a rudimentary manner, from side stems, an uncommon idea later developed in the lovely panels of the Saint-Père nave.

The strain of Norman style interspersed at Sées reappears in certain windows of the Vendôme and Evron ensembles, and even briefly at Saint-Père (some of the tracery medallions of the hemicycle). It was more probably the emergent Norman style, flourishing by the early fourteenth century, than Parisian influence which finally overcame the School of the West in its own region.[1]

---

[1] The heavily colored and absolutely regular lozenge pattern of Bays 1, 2 and 9 is not typical of the School of the West at any stage of its development. Clover, which seems to have been a favorite motif in Norman foliage, appears in the grisaille of Bays 5 and 8. The appearance of naturalistic foliage in many of the upper bays at such an early date also points to Norman origins; it is my impression that Normandy led the way in the use of naturalistic foliage in grisaille.

[2] The similarity was first noticed by Delaporte (reported in Lafond, "Sées," p. 76 and n.3). The Sées grisaille in question is illustrated in L. Ottin, Le Vitrail, (Paris, 1896), p. 37, Fig. 35. M. Louis-Jean Lagrange, the Architecte des monuments historiques for the Départements de l'Orne et de la Sarthe, has stated that grisaille patterns reconstructed from debris found in the Cistercian abbey of Epau (Yvre-l'Evêque, Sarthe) resemble the Sées grisaille under discussion (conversation 1965).

Of the three late ensembles of the Western School, the Saint-Père hemicycle and nave and the choirs of Vendôme and Evron, Saint-Père is unquestionably the touchstone. There is little Norman here.[2] In the hemicycle, ablaze with color, a college of energetic saints confronts the spectator. The figures are massive in scale and proportion, with an unmistakable verve, yet detail is painstakingly drawn in infinite variation. A comparison of haloes or of identical ecclesiastical vestments (Bay 2, for example) proves the point. Although many cartoons are re-used, an economy commonly practiced in the Western School, the artist went to greater pains to vary attributes, decorative motifs and physiognomy to individualize his personae. Old postures--the profile, the huge pointing hand--are not only maintained but revitalized by beautiful drawing. The canopy architecture is elaborate and detailed yet does not dominate as it will at Evron. The ensemble of the hemicycle of Saint-Père is the apogee of the School of the West.

---

[1] Lafond maintains that they are the same thing. His evidence for the primacy of Paris--of a strong stylistic influence, that is, which would parallel that of the Sainte-Chapelle in some provinces--in the last quarter of the 13th c. and the early 14th c. is largely circumstantial. Little or no Parisian glass remains.

[2] The tiny gargoyles at the ends of the apse canopies may have been a Norman motif *à l'origine*. More certainly Norman is the tighter composition (and clover motif) in most of the apse tracery medallions. The comparison of styles is extremely clear in the two medallions of Bay 2 (Pl. 14). Compare also the standing angels in the canopywork of the Saint-Père hemicycle with canopywork at Evreux, Saint-Ouen, and in the Rouen Virgin Chapel (late 14th c.).

The dozen windows of the Saint-Père nave can be divided into two series, the standing saints framed in grisaille and the legendary windows. The latter group are almost the unique examples of small-scale narrative composition in the Western School.[1] Aside from an identity of color harmonies, body proportions, decorative architectural motifs and draughtsmanship of hands and feet,[2] in

---

fn. 2
p. 155

[1] The "Evron" window (Bay d) of the Le Mans upper ambulatory is another remaining example with the St. Julien window of Angers a possible third (see footnote 2, p. 155; The "Evron" window is illustrated in E. Hucher, Vitraux peints de la cathédrale du Mans (Paris and Le Mans, 1864), pls. (87) and (89). According to the theory of Hucher (found in text for 'Côté nord du triforium (sic), 4e fenêtre') this window, gift of Abbot Ernaud of Evron, was the work of glassmakers of the new abbey church of Evron consecrated by the Bishop of Le Mans, Geoffroy de Loudun, on September 7, 1252 (two years before he consecrated his cathedral's new choir). If Evron was glazed in 1252, however, not a scrap remains. It is, in fact, uncertain just what was consecrated. The building as it now stands includes a tower and four nave bays of Romanesque style, a 12th c. chapel, and two nave bays, a crossing and a chevet of the early 14th c. There is no record of why or in what manner an earlier chevet may have been destroyed in the last half of the 13th c.

[2] The similarity of such figures as the Peter and Paul of Bay 22 to the larger figures of Sées, Vendôme and Evron is striking.

what way does the western spirit emerge in the smaller scale? It was translated into a free sense of movement, occasionally quite exaggerated, and a broadness of composition across the lines of the ironwork. The flagellation of the spidery St. Denis in Bay 23 (Pl. 64) and the upended ram of Simon Magus in Bay 22 (Pl. 58) are the best examples of compositional vivacity. It is a spirit not entirely dormant in the larger scale productions of the west, for example the remarkable martyrdoms of Sts. Gervais and Protais at Le Mans.[1]

More central to a study of western style, however, are the six large figure bays of the nave of Saint-Père. These saints, equal in scale and proportion to those in the hemicycle, are much more crudely executed and repetitious in design. The canopies have grown slightly in size although not necessarily in complexity. While yellow retains its place in the color harmony, the joyous red and blue of the apse have modified, the blue becoming lighter and clearer and the red darker, often approaching brown. Green and brown take over large areas and white is very prominent in hair, architecture, attributes, robes. The effect is less scintillating and at the same time, as a result of the increased white, light blue and yellow, lighter.

---

[1] Illustrated in _VF_, pl. 117.

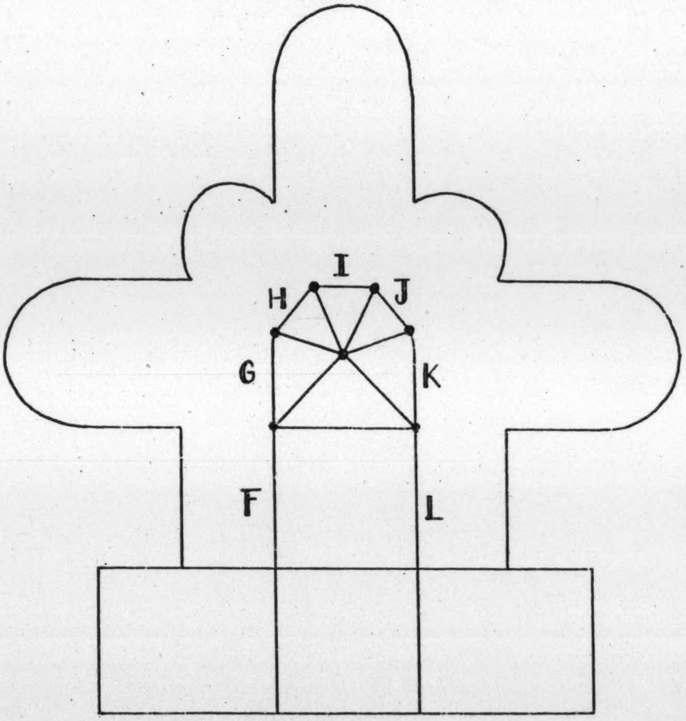
The artist has altered his color in an attempt to harmonize it with the surrounding grisaille, a problem not present in the hemicycle and not seriously considered at Sées or Tours. The lovely grisaille patterns which remain in the nave are as varied and delicate as the figures are repetitious and crude. Naturalistic foliage and central and side stem designs appear against the traditional cross-hatched ground, possibly making its swan-song here.[1] While some of the leading in the grisaille of the Saint-Père nave (Bays 25, 29) takes the regular lozenge pattern which became the rule in the fourteenth century, the best work (Bays 24 and 28) retains a modified 'bulged' design of considerable variety.

It is the layout of color and grisaille, however, which is the most noteworthy feature of the early fourteenth

---

[1] Clear grounds are found in Burgundy ca. 1275 (Saint-Urbain de Troyes, illus. *VF*, pl. VIII). In the west they appear slightly later, in the Saint-Père triforium and then at Vendôme. Bays 29 (chapel, south apse), 36 (axial chapel) and 146-48 (north transept clerestory) of Chartres cathedral, probably dating in the last quarter of the 13th c., also have clear grounds.

178



Vendôme

Fig. 11

century glass of the Saint-Père nave. The experimental vertical alternation of the early choir series reappears here, adapted to the broad doublet lancets.[1] in a manner reminiscent of its origins. The saints, placed under canopies one over the other in the center of each lancet, are framed by vertical strips of grisaille to either side. The single apostles and prophets of Lyon and Auxerre (Pl. 93) some three score years earlier were similarly "matted" in grisaille, as were the reused panels in the south transept of Reims cathedral, and figures of the Saint-Remi apse tribune before them. It is an arrangement which had died out with the complication of window tracery in the mid-thirteenth century and which, in the ca. 1240 nave architecture of Saint-Père, is allowed a final, anomalous coda.

12=11

The stained glass of Vendôme (Fig. 11) is something of an anomaly of a different sort. As Lafond has stated, "Si un document ne fixait pas à 1306 le début de la reconstruction de la Trinité de Vendôme--et si Saint Louis ne figurait pas dans l'iconographie--on attribuerait sans hésiter au dernier quart du XIIIe siècle . . . les fenêtres hautes du choeur."[1] Many compositional elements, especially in canopywork and grisaille, seem retardataire in comparison with the contemporary, more elaborate glazing at Saint-Père. Color, the general compositional spirit and many similarities in draughtsmanship and decorative motif, however, relate the two ensembles. The best fourteenth century work at Saint-Père (the colored glass of the apse and the grisaille of Bays 24 and 28) is a cut above Vendôme in quality. Even the repeated saints of the nave of Saint-Père, through scale and a distortion of features which has become cliché, are more forceful as designs.

---

[1] The ca. 1300-1315 glass fills windows of more than a half century earlier. See Chapter II, Buildings.

Where Vendôme does not resemble Saint-Père it seems to approach Evron. The stubbier scale, the arrangement of canopywork motifs, the characteristic drawing of hands, eyebrows and ears, even seem in some cases to be the work of the same artist (compare, for example, Vendôme Bay L, Pl. 131, with Evron Bay 116, Pl. 134). The ensemble at Vendôme, which is neither extensive nor progressive in design, and which unfortunately has suffered damage by time and man, thus forms a fragile bridge between the best achievements of the Western School and the final ensemble in which any vestige of regional characteristics can be recognized.

---

[1] Lafond, XIV, p. 212 (Grodecki (communication of April 1967) disagrees). There has been no recent study of the documentation of Vendôme. The unknown abbot in Bay F may hold the key. He is a monk, haloed and tonsured, holding a crozier, and he directly presents to the spectator a phylactery filled with fake writing and a shield (AZ. a 3 fleurs-de-lis OR), presently leaded into the window upside-down. This shield was not the royal escutcheon at the time Vendôme was glazed, Charles VI (1368-1422) being the first monarch to employ it. Catherine, daughter of Charles V, also used it. The presence of St. Louis and the fact that the figure of the 11th c. founder (Geoffroy Martel, Count of Vendôme) wears a robe strewn with fleurs-de-lys would seem to corroborate a hypothesized donation by some member of the royal family other than the king.

Of the seven windows in the chevet of Vendôme, five are works of the School of the West.[1] They are band-windows, although only in Bays F and L does any of the original grisaille remain. In the latter window (St. Louis), the band of figures stretches across the center. In Bay F, however, they take their places in the bottoms of the lancets. It is impossible to say if this was their original placement,[1] but if so it constitutes another experiment in the combination of figures and grisaille.[2]

---

[1] Bays H and J, which frame the axial bay, are tighter, more precise designs resembling the tracery medallions of the Saint-Père hemicycle and some of the chapel windows of Sées, a style which I have tried to identify as Norman. Bay H contains a Virgin and Child with angels; Bay J is the famous window of Geoffroy Martel. The canopywork crockets are of clover or pointed trefoils. The framing colonettes have architectural capitals instead of the non-functional foliate motif typical of western work. Another minor detail is the brickwork, which is not double-lined in the western manner. The coloration is dark with small areas of white as scintillants.

——

The grisaille of Vendôme, including debris in the apse triforium as well as the panels of Bays F and L, is generally mediocre in quality and transitional in design.[3] The least progressive, that of Bay L, closely resembles the most heavy-handed grisaille designs of the choir triforium of Saint-Père (for example, trif. Bay 16, right lancet, and trif. Bay 13, outer lancets). The ground is clear, the foliage grows up and down in a centripetal arrangement, and the leading is "bulged" in an unpleasantly rigid pattern.[1] The Vendôme foliage is transitional, slightly more naturalistic than most of the leafage in the triforium of Saint-Père;[2] on the other hand, most of the foliation at Saint-Père, excepting Bay 13 trif., grows only up rather than in the older centripetal pattern. Both series are dreary products of possibly the same mediocre journeyman.

---

[1] The gables over the figures are shorter than in other windows and have been cut at the top, so that the finials are now missing. More puzzling, the grisaille above them has a complete finished border running across the bottom, that is, directly above the figure panels. Bays H, I, J and K have the figure-band in the center sandwiched in by modern grisaille; Bay G has the figure-band at the bottom, now surmounted by a large 16th c. composition.

[2] Band-windows with the figures at the bottom, although not common, are by no means as unique as the vertical arrangement of Saint-Père. Approximately contemporary examples include: clerestory of Cologne, 1295-1320; Evreux, Bay 115 (Harcourt window), ca. 1310-1327; Rouen (Arnold, p. 190).

[3] There is much restoration throughout. In Bay L most--but not all--of the two outer lancets is modern. The pattern of the debris in the triforium (Bays h and j) was copied by the restorer in the modern grisaille in the clerestories directly above.

The grisaille in Bay F and the Vendôme triforium is slightly more progressive: the foliage naturalistic, some of the leading in regular lozenges (inner two lancets of Bay F), a central stem. In the hemicycle a curious transitional design appears, with a central stem below the center boss of each panel but not above. A similarly tentative spirit is found in the lateral grisaille of the axial chapel of Sées, where some of the foliage in a traditional centripetal design grows in from a vertical stem drawn along the edge of the light.

---

[1] Compare the ca. 1270 clerestory of Tours where the ground is still cross-hatched and the pattern not yet so petrified.

[2] Excepting the left quatrefoil over trif. Bay 12.

There are two color harmonies in the western glass of Vendôme,[1] both of which find more successful counterparts at Saint-Père. The lively coloration of the Saint-Père hemicycle appears at Vendôme in Bays F and L (Pl. 130). The glass is quite clear, however, and passes much light. In Bay F, as at Sées, the scheme of balanced primaries has been reduced to a formula: all grounds red, all robes blue or yellow.

Bays G, I and K have a duller, darker color scheme based on deep red, tones of brown and a mannered 'dirty' yellow. It is a combination found in better state of preservation[2] and more varied design in the eastern bays of the nave of Saint-Père. In Saint-Père Bays 20 and 21 (Pls. 55 and 56a), especially, many of the robes are a dull yellow and most of the figure ground is deep red-brown. The red-brown was originally used as well for some of the lozenges which formerly filled the framing strips, the memory of which is preserved in the upper panels of each lancet.

---

[1] A third is found in the tighter 'Norman' windows, Bays H and J. It is darker, relying more heavily on a rich blue enlivened by small white accents.

[2] The glass of Bay G, which faces north, presents an advanced state of devitrification at present. There is no set of photographs in the Archives photographiques; perhaps the window is too opaque to be photographed. In Bay K the clearer glass of the robes of the two inner figures is modern.

There can be little doubt of the familial connection of decorative motifs in the canopywork of Vendôme, Saint-Père and Evron. Although difficult to describe verbally the common motifs are easy to recognize. The following chart gives some idea of the motifs and their placement:

		Saint-Père	Vendôme	Evron
(1)	double-line brickwork	hemicycle & nave	F, K, L	113, 116
(2)	frieze of circles enclosing quatrefoils	hemicycle; nave Bays 25, 29	F, K, L	all bays
(3)	frieze of maple leaves before inverted V's	nave	K	113, 114, 116
(4)	unarchitectural leaf as capital of colonette (sometimes (3) motif)	nave Bays 20, 25	L	112, 114
(5)	gargoyles at ends of gables	hemicycle (buttress of upper canopywork)	K, L	112 (buttress), 115, 116
(6)	roof of tiling panels separated by clear strips	hemicycle (primitive form of motif)	K, L	112, 114, 116

In addition perspective is tentatively introduced in the bases of framing colonnettes at Vendôme (see Bay L, Pl. 131) and Evron (all bays, see Pl. 138b). Motifs of the same general type were being employed in all gothic schools of glass painting in the early fourteenth century, but in the three monuments under discussion they are markedly similar in workmanship and in grouping. The late canopywork of the School of the West maintains a sense of solid, almost blocklike structure.

The Vendôme figures are the same sort of group of standing apostles as Saint-Père and Bay 116 of Evron (Pl. 134), equipped with a similar collection of attributes.[1] Generally speaking the feet at Vendôme are drawn with the same wiry nervous toes which mark the Saint-Père style, and the hair curls as energetically. The stubbier scale and certain details such as the unanatomical, bloblike hands are much closer to Evron Bay 116, however. The decoration of the mitre (small dotted circles) and the strangely convoluted ear of the bishop of Vendôme Bay L appear also in Bay 114 of Evron (Pls. 136-37) (which has an example of the slender finlike foot of the bishop's executioner as well) and in both of the Evron fragments now in the U.S.A. (see Pls. 139-40).[2]

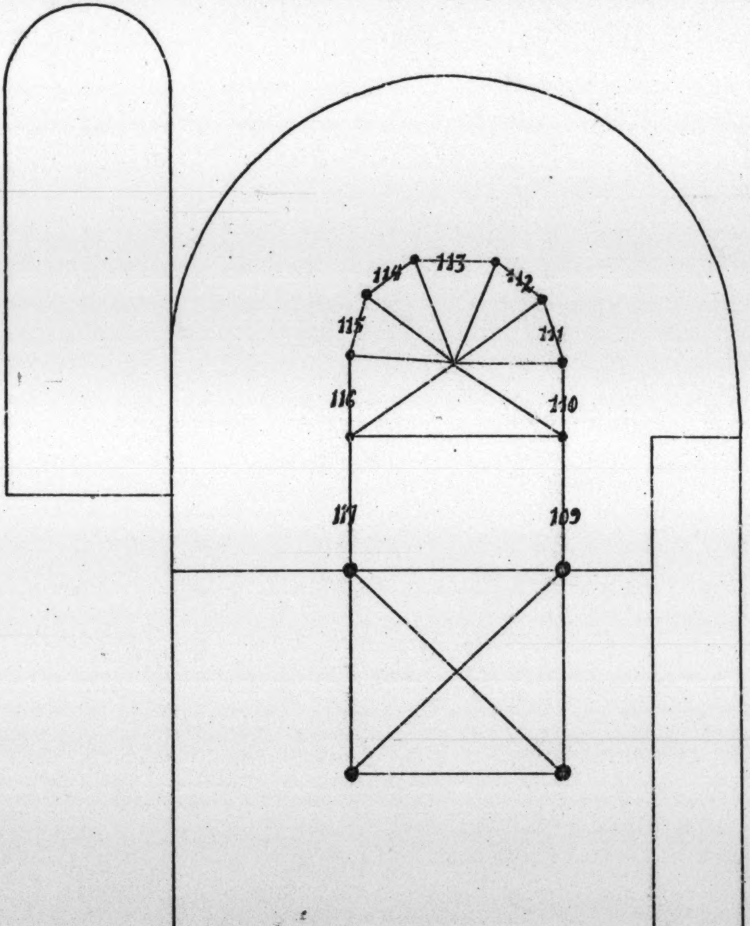
---

[1] All three ensembles have Barnabas with a flame; an apostle with a long pike; a saint holding a sword by the point (Evron Bay 112).

[2] See discussion p. 196 and footnote 1 .

✓ – p. 196 fn. 1

187


113
114
112
115
111
116
110
117
109

Evron

Fig. 12

The uneven series of windows at Vendôme thus provides evidence of the decline of the western style so noticeable in the Evron ensemble. The monumental power which was the chief virtue of the style has become almost totally dissipated at Evron, probably through a combination of outside influences and creeping academicism.[1]

The ensemble of Evron (Fig. 12) consists of six remaining windows in the apse (Gays 111-116). Notwithstanding the several compositional arrangements employed, the group was probably planned and executed at the same time and originally may have included at least the apsidal bay facing Bay 116 if not the two huge windows of the straight choir. Several panels in an identical style now reside in Pennsylvania in the Philadelphia Museum (Pl. 140) and the Raymond Pitcairn collection (Pl. 139) at Bryn Athyn.[2] The Evron glass was completely restored in 1902. ". . . Lorsqu'un vitrail n'est plus scellé dans sa fenêtre, il a tôt fait de gagner la porte. . . ."[1]

---

[1] The extremely dull 14th c. panel of the Sacrifice of Abraham in the nave triforium of Tours maybe a final work in this academic style, although proof is lacking. (Illustrated in Lafond, XIV, pl. XLIII).

[2] The three panels from the Pitcairn collection were exhibited at the Cloisters, New York, in the fall of 1968. They have not been attributed to Evron in publication but the provenance is stylistically undeniable. (number 193-195 in Metropolitan Museum of Art, Medieval Art from Private Collections (stained glass entries by Dr. Jane Hayward), New York, 1968.) The Cloisters, on the other hand, harbors two canopied standing figures 'from Evron' which appertain to the elegantly proportioned Norman style of Evreux and Rouen. See: Metropolitan Museum of Art (James J. Rorimer), The Cloisters (New York, 1951), fig. 40 and pp. 77-79. They entered the Cloisters collection in 1928. Apropos of the Cloisters panels, nothing would be more surprising than for the catalog claim to prove true, i.e., that the grisaille in which they are presently found is "contemporary." It is stylistically "contemporary" to Tours, ca. 1270, with cross-hatched ground and rather dried-up palmettes. It is presently mounted upside-down, with foliage growing downward.

Bay 116 on the north (Pl. 134) differs markedly from the rest of the group in style and compositional layout. It is a band-window, the row of five apostles with canopies and attributes spread across the bottom of the bay.[2] Their coloration is the gay red/yellow/blue combination of so many western works. Not only in color but also in scale and proportion, arrangement and decoration of canopywork, choice of attributes and figure style, Bay 116 is of a piece with Bays F and L of Vendôme (Pl. 131). In addition to features already noted in the discussion of that monument, the following details of figure drawing are particularly close:

---

[1] Lafond, apropos of Sées ("Sées," p. 78). The Parisian restorer who worked at Evron 1900-1902, Henri Carot, tried unsuccessfully in 1911 to sell back to the French government three stained glass 'groups' which he said he had reconstituted from debris in the church. The Architect-en-chef refused to pay his price for work uncommissioned, and ordered him to replace the glass, which was the legal property of the church of Evron, compensating him only for its reinstallation. (Archives départementales, Mayenne, Evron, Eglise, 2e Dossier, 1878-1924 (853).)

[2] Actually the figures are not quite at the bottom of the window, as there is a small strip of grisaille beneath them which does not show from the main floor of the choir. The grisaille is modern work by Jean-Jacques Gruber.

large-pupiled eyes with double line around them (now sometimes badly worn); two types of eyebrows, rounded and hooked (the latter is found in the Saint-Père apse and in some windows of Sées as well); U line in cheeks (see Vendôme Bay F); a mouth formed of a heavy drooping top line over a smaller and thinner lower one; nose of frontal faces (center lancet Evron 116 and the figure of St. Louis in Vendôme Bay L) resembling a sideview nose with added nostril.

The five windows of the hemicycle are completely colored as at Saint-Père.[1] Bays 112 and 114, flanking the axial window, are divided into two lancets filled with two rows of canopied figures or scenes, not unlike the arrangement of the hemicycle of Saint-Père. The axial Bay 113 (Pl. 133) and the two outer Bays of the apse, 111 and 115 (Pls. 132 and 136), each of which is divided into three lancets, have only one row of figures placed across the bottom of the window. Above them rises a soaring architectural fancy[2] not without the dull mechanical quality which so often permeates such compositions for the remainder of the gothic era. The device was practical: it economically filled great areas with color which otherwise would have contained grisaille, it brought the figures closer to the eye while avoiding the aesthetic problem of combining heavily colored glass with an immense expanse of clear glazing which would pass too much light. As Lewis Day has remarked:

---

[1] Lafond's opinion is that colored glass was prized in the apse long after it lost favor in the rest of the church.

[2] Large areas of canopywork are now modern (Bay 111, parts of 112 and 114). The glass of Bays 115 and 113, however, is almost all ancient excepting minor réparations. Before Carot's restoration at the turn of the present century, the 16th c. bishop under a niche *à coquille*, now in the north aisle of the nave, was somewhere in Bay 114. See Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, "L'Eglise abbatiale d'Evron (Mayenne)," *Bulletin monumental*, LXVII (1903), pp. 317ff.

> The notion of a stone-like niche in glass, to frame a picture already framed by real architecture, does not as such commend itself to the logical mind. . . . Still, . . . it must be allowed that the Perpendicular canopy proved a singularly effective means of enshrining . . . colour enough to give a window richness without great loss of light. . . . (A) better scheme for the distribution of white and colour in a window remains yet to be devised.[1]

The idea may have originated at Evron. With the advent of silver stain shortly thereafter the device of soaring canopywork found its perfect executant. Silver stain is absent from Evron, however. The device owes its popularity but not its birth to jaune d'argent.

The three bays with the soaring canopywork, 111, 113 and 115, contain large-scale figures in which can be seen the final vestiges of western style. The three lancets of Bay 113 (axial) have large standing figures of Mary and John flanking a smaller Trinity, placed over the kneeling figure of a monk-donor holding a traceried window.[1] In Bay 115 (north) is found an Adoration of the Magi in typical thirteenth century iconographic form with an escutcheon 'GU. a 3 pales vair.'[2] Bay 111 contains three standing saints holding

---

[1] Lewis Day, Stained Glass (London, 1903), p. 68.

---

x n

[1] His head is modern and also parts of the window he holds and the upper ground. His identity is unknown.

[2] These arms were the arms of the abbey before the 18th c., according to the Chanoine Augustin Ceuneau (*Evron, la basilique et l'abbaye bénédictines, la ville* (Evron, 1949), inner front cover). He identifies them as the arms, less the *chef d'or*, of the Counts of Blois of the house of Châtillon. The comté of Blois was in the possession of the house of Chastillion from the beginning of the 13th c. until 1391. At this point fact and fiction merge. The second foundation of the abbey of Notre-Dame d'Evron was, according to documents mentioned by Ceuneau (p. 7, n. 1), the work of Raoul II, vicomte du Maine, 967-1003. At some point in the abbey's history an attempt was made to merge Raoul's deeds with "Robert de Blois'" name. Robert, usually considered the Count of Blois himself, is described by Lefevre-Pontalis, who repeats the story, as only a vassal of Eudes, Count of Blois (p. 301). Was the new founder invented by the monks in thanks for a 14th c. donation or is he comparatively modern?

The kneeling haloed chevalier of Bay 112, obviously intended to be the abbey's second founder (the first founder, the Pilgrim d'Evron, faces him), also wears the pales GU. and vair of the escutcheon in question. It is not, one must remember, the exact arms of Chastillion. Arms with variations of these devices were not uncommon in Touraine and Maine, and in fact the exact shield appears in the Normandie-Alençon volume of the Armorial general (BN ms.fr. 32246, v. 19, p. 905, no. 342) as the arms of Marie le Vaillant, wife of Charles de Puisaye (Puiset?), ec. Seigneur de Beaufossé. Until a documented connection between the house of Blois/Châtillon and the abbey of Evron comes to light the identity of the escutcheon in Bay 115 must be held in question.

attributes, of which only a sword (left)[1] and a bell-like object on a short staff (center)[2] can be seen clearly.[3] What remains in these weak overblown figures to recall the power of the best work of the School of the West? An occasional foot, for example those of John and God the Father in the axial bay. A distortion of gesture, such as Mary's clasped hands,[4] the unanatomical position of the arms of the kneeling magus of Bay 115 and the claw-like dexter hand of the left magus. Beyond this it is the coloration, dull and somber from the large areas of dark green and shades of brown.

The remaining two windows of Evron have figures or scenes in two rows rather than one.[5] Bay 114 (Pl. 136-37) contains four episodes in the legend of the Pilgrim d'Evron, seventh century founder of the abbey.[1] Bay 112 (Pl. 132) contains a standing figure of the Pilgrim of Evron (upper left)[2] and a haloed, kneeling figure of the abbey's 'second founder,' a tenth century chevalier, shown in mail and heraldic surcoat.[3] Below them are two unmatched figures in smaller scale, an apostle with sword (probably St. Paul)[4] and the Virgin and Christchild. The latter figures probably have been moved to the clerestory from another location or locations. They occupy two panels apiece instead of the customary three, and they have the only borders in the choir. Their proportions and canopy design do not resemble the rest of Bays 112 and 114 nor do they resemble one another.

---

[1] The head is entirely modern. The figure holds his sword with one hand and the ties of his cloak with the other. He is shod.

[2] The middle figure also carries a small plain cross.

[3] The right hand figure is in a bad state of deterioration, and his hands and attribute appear to be an ancient revision. His head (unrecognizable) is lower than the other two--could he have been the 'kneeling donor' Carot found in this window in 1899?

[4] The modern face robs this figure of all cohesion.

[5] It is possible that this glass came from elsewhere. Significantly, three large sections of glass are modern in each window: the lowest panel (architectural filler), the middle architecture, and the upper canopywork filling the trefoiled top panel of each lancet. It appears as though the glass was not so high originally nor did it end in a trefoiled upper form.

---

[1] The legend: ca. 630 A.D. a pilgrim returning from the Holy Land with a vessel of the Virgin's milk stopped at a fountain to rest. He hung the pouch containing his precious relic from the branch of a hawthorn tree before going to sleep. When he awoke the tree had grown so high that he could not reach the relic, and when he tried to chop it down the ax would not cut. St. Hadouin, Bishop of Le Mans, came and prayed. At his prayer the tree bent down and the pilgrim was able to retrieve his relic, which he gave to the bishop. The latter built a church and monastery on the site. The four scenes in Bay 114 are: 1) the Pilgrim hanging up his pouch; 2) the Pilgrim sleeping; 3) St. Hadouin praying, accompanied by two monks; and 4) a priest before the altar offering the relic to be kissed by two kneeling penitents.

[2] The middle panel of his body is entirely modern.

fn. 2
p. 192

[3] See footnote 2, p. 192. In the late 9th c. the Normans under Syrdrick devastated the abbey. Count Raoul II, vicomte du Maine, reconstructed it in 985-989 and called to it monks from Saint-Père de Chartres (confirmed in Chartres Bibl., ms. 1136, v. 5, p. 89, stating that monks were sent from Saint-Père; v. 1, p. 103, stating that in the foundation document it mentions the end of the world as imminent).

[4] The small vial he holds in one hand is modern.

The attractive boldness of the School of the West has all but vanished in Bays 112 and 114. But for a handful of details--St. Paul's dexter hand, his feet and those of the Virgin, the jagged eyebrows of the various figures of the Pilgrim--not a jot of western influence remains. It is indeed a new style, a fresh approach, which is characterized most obviously by an interest in large-scale narrative.[1] The dichotomy of the nave of Saint-Père, where small-scale canopied narrative rows and large-scale standing figures are arranged for strong contrast, has been broken.

A single figure at Vendôme is designed in the new narrative style, the martyred bishop of Bay L (Pl. 131, left). Other examples of it which have come to light are a panel in the Philadelphia Museum (no. 19-69) and three matching panels in the Pitcairn collection.[1] Since examples of all groups contain beardless bishop-saints, a comparison of draughtsmanship and decorative motifs is simple and the results quite clear. The Vendôme bishop, the Evron Pilgrim scenes and the fragments now in Pennsylvania are unquestionably by the same hand. In addition to a facial type which derives from Vendôme (heavily drawn top lip line), the following details are notable: a dotted circle decoration in the mitres, a crozier-head embellished with a dotted pattern on the exterior of the curve and a trefoil curling inside from the end (Evron and US panels), a very curious ear with blackened areas forming an ε or 3 pattern, elegantly drawn gloved hand showing inside of opening (Evron and Pitcairn), a frieze of circles enclosing quatrefoils (Evron and Pitcairn). The question arises of the original location of the fragments now in the United States. Vendôme can be ruled out on the basis of its more elementary canopywork. The architectural motifs in the Pennsylvania panels most closely resemble those of the six Pilgrim d'Evron scenes at Evron although the panneautage is unlike: the Evron scenes are cut by irons before the apex of the gable while the panels in America show all but the finial. The fragment in the Philadelphia Museum, moreover, has by a fortuitous circumstance been leaded with a border of debris, including decorative motifs like some of those found in the borders of St. Paul and the Virgin in Bay 112.[1] That the fragment group in America originated in Evron seems undeniable. Its precise original location in the church is more dubious. There is unfortunately no lack of empty windows of comparable dimensions in the fourteenth century part of the structure, including two immense bays in the chevet clerestory itself.[1]

---

[1] Large-scale narrative was tried tentatively and rejected at Le Mans, ca. 1255 (illustrated VF, pl. 117).

---

[1] The Philadelphia Museum fragment, measuring 24 x 20 1/2," was purchased in 1919 from the Annual Membership Fund. Pitcairn's panels came to him between 1923-1925, apparently from Roy Grosvenor Thomas. See: 1) Roy Grosvenor Thomas, *Stained Glass, Its Origin and Application* (New York: privately printed, 1922) (illustration of panel now in Pitcairn collection, opposite p. 4, labeled "English, circa 1350. In Private Possession"); 2) S.Y.S., "Two Examples of Stained Glass," *Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, XVII, No. 65 (February, 1920), 5-13 (illustration opposite p. 6, attribution, questioned by author, to Reims); 3) Arthur Edwin Bye, "Three Glass Panels with St. Nicholas," *Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, XIX, No. 81 (December, 1923), 43-45 (connecting museum panel with three panels in Roy Thomas collection); 4) *Catalogue of the Collection of Stained and Painted Glass in the Pennsylvania* Museum (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, 1925), introduction by Arthur Edwin Bye (pl. II illustrates museum fragment, labeled "Fragment, probably from Chartres, about 1350," and p. 18 of text mentions the three panels, now in the Pitcairn collection, and the attribution of them all by Roy Thomas to Saint-Père de Chartres). Another panel, now in the Burrell Collection of the Glasgow Art Museum, has been identified with this Evron group by Dr. Jane Hayward. See Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, *Stained and Painted Glass, Burrell Collection*, Glasgow, 1965, 5 illus. p. 9 (Inv. No. 71; Reg. No. 45.368). It shows a saint seated, writing. It was apparently purchased from Seligmann in 1928.

Pitcairn

Add to note →

---

[1] See footnote 5, p. 193.

fn. 5
p. 193

The spirit of the Western School flickers and dies at Evron. The style can be presumed dead before the coup de grâce dealt it by the introduction into the west of the technique of silver stain: 1313, Mesnil-Villeman (Manche); 1327, fragment from Rouen; before 1328, Saint-Alban (Côtes-du-Nord); 1328, Chartres cathedral.[2] Perspective, introduced into the glazing art at about the same time,[3] was no less fatal to the western aesthetic. Both silver stain and perspective are featured in the glass of the Chapelle Saint-Piat of Chartres, ca. 1330-1340, which owes its debt not to the bankrupt School of the West but probably to Normandy.[1]

---

[1] These two windows (Bays 117 and 109), which adjoin the crossing, are presently filled with modern grisaille (the tracery of 117 includes three gothic roundels). Old photographs show that the north window, at least, was formerly boarded up. The spire which surmounted the crossing from 1606 until 1901 was, at the time of its removal, in imminent danger of collapse (see: Arch. dept., Mayenne, Evron, Eglise, 2e Dossier 1878-1924 (853)). It is quite possible that ancient glass was removed and the windows blinded to provide additional support to the crossing when the spire first began to threaten.

[2] See Chapter IV, footnote 1, p. 131.

fn. 1
p. 131

[3] Saint-Ouen de Rouen (1325ff.) (Pls. 20 and III of Louis Grodecki, Vitraux de France (1953 catalog)); Evreux (13255ff.) (Pl. 19 of same volume); Königsfelden (1325-1328). English provincial glass first exhibits perspective ca. 1330, according to Peter Newton (lecture at Courtauld Institute, March 1963). Lafond believes that perspective was disseminated by Paris (see especially XIV, p. 225).

The Western school occupies a very important position in the development of French stained glass, spanning, as it does, the transitional years between the early thirteenth century marvels of Chartres and Bourges and the emergence of the fullblown fourteenth century mode of glazing. "Rien ne ressemble moins à un vitrail du XIIIe siècle qu'un vitrail du XIVe," said Emile Mâle, and the transition has been little understood. The picture has been further clouded by the immediate flare-up of popularity in the mid-thirteenth century of the almost *retardataire* Sainte-Chapelle style and the importance afforded it by modern art historical scholarship. How did glaziers bridge the stylistic gap between Parisian windows such as those filling most of the clerestory of Tours ca. 1270 and the great ensembles of Evreux and Saint-Ouen a half-century later?

---

[1] Only the archaic diapered ground recalls Saint-Père (Bay 26, story of John the Baptist). See Lafond, *XIV*, p. 212. The figures in the canopywork are a popular Norman motif, and the saints placed directly against grisaille, although not originating in Normandy necessarily, recall the contemporary work at Saint-Ouen.

The existence and vigor of regional schools such as the School of the West provide a logical answer. There were undoubtedly others: in the north the strange collage-like appearance of the saints of Saint-Quentin[1] and the glazing of the late 1260's at Amiens[2] as well as the Beauvais clerestories suggest a school. Saint-Urbain de Troyes could not have sprung fullblown like Athena from the brow of Zeus; the similarity of spirit, if not of facture, with early western work suggests a possible common parentage in Burgundy. Lafond has traced the succession of Norman glass in the period in question,[3] characterized by slender forms, graceful fine lines, small heads in proportion to body length, economy of movement and gesture and emphasis on figures' verticality.[4]

---

[1] The customary dating in the 1240's seems too early.

[2] Illustrated in *Vitraux de France* (1953 catalog), pl. 17, and in *VF*, pl. 118. See Grodecki, *Vitraux des églises de France* (Paris, 1947), pp. 23 and 25, who notes the lack of Parisian influence at Amiens.

[3] Lafond, "Normandie," pp. 355-58; and *XIV*, pp. 189-208, 209-210.

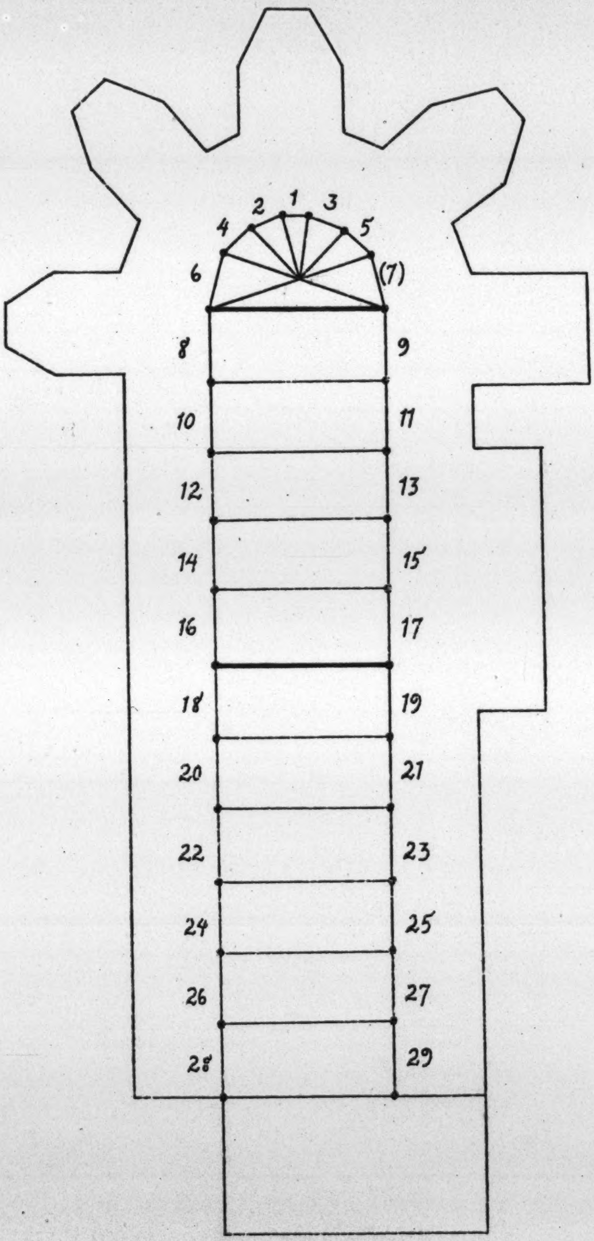
[4] See Madeline Harrison, "A Life of St. Edward the Confessor in Early Fourteenth Century Stained Glass at Fécamp, in Normandy," *Journal of the Warburg-Courtauld Institutes*, XXVI (1963), 33-34.

From his Norman data he has theorized a strong Paris school which, it would seem, would parallel that of the Sainte-Chapelle for some years.

The latter thirteenth century has barely been charted as yet.[1] One thing at least is abundantly clear: it was not, as once thought, a period of decline or 'decadence' following the efflorescence of Chartres.

---

[1] The pioneer study of the period in question, by Jean-Jacques Gruber, merits wider circulation than its publication with a group of student essays affords ("Quelques aspects de l'art et de la technique du vitrail en France (Dernier tiers du XIIIe siècle, premier tiers du XIVe)," in Paris, Université, Faculté des Lettres, Travaux des études du Groupe d'Histoire de l'art, 1927-1928, pp. 71-94. Note that the monuments he studied as examples of a new pictorial freedom sound like a list of the School of the West: Maître de Saint-Cheron at Chartres, Le Mans, Tours clerestory, Vendôme, Evron, Saint-Père. (See also Gruber's chapter, "Technique," in VF, p. 66.)


1
2
3
4
5
6
(7)
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29

Saint-Père

Fig. 13

Subject-matter of Saint-Père clerestory

Hemicycle:

Bay 1 - lancets: Crucifixion, Virgin & Child, Sts. Louis and Gilduin (local saint)

tracery: Annunciation, Nativity

Bays 2-6 - lancets: standing apostles and bishop- and abbot-saints (Bay 2 - Peter ⟷ Bay 3 - Paul)

tracery: martyrdoms

Bay 2 - Peter, Paul	Bay 3 - Baptist, Stephen
Bay 4 - Lawrence,	Bay 5 - Andrew (lost)
Bay 6 - Eustace, Bartholomew	Bay 7 - (lost)

Choir: standing Old Testament prophets and patriarchs

Matthias
=
Matthew

Gregory (prob. Gregory VII)

Nave: legends

Bay 18 - Passion	⟷	Bay 19 - Anne & Joachim (cathedral's relic)
		- Virgin (= Infancy)
Bay 22 - Peter & Paul	⟷	Bay 23 - 2 martyrs who brought Christianity to France (Clement and Denis)
Bay 26 - Baptist		Bay 27 - 2 virgin saints (Agnes and Catherine)

standing saints

Bay 20 - Philip, Thomas James, Matthew	Bay 21 - Virgin & Child, donor, 2 pope-saints (Gregory, prob. Gregory VII, Silvester)
Bay 24 - John Ev., Andrew, James, Bartholomew	Bay 25 - 4 bishop saints (incl. Martin of Tours and Lubin, bishop of Chartres)
Bay 28 - Matthias, James Less, Judas, Barnabas	Bay 29 - 4 abbot saints (incl. Maur, benedictine saint)

NEW TESTAMENT

APOSTLES

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH

CHAPTER VI

ICONOGRAPHY--INTRODUCTION

Because the glazing of the Saint-Père clerestory is complete and is reasonably homogeneous in date and style, it has great value to the student of medieval iconography. How did a French master glazier get his program, how did he arrange his subject-matter? To what extent was he a free agent in design and arrangement? What were his visual sources, his textual sources? Was the choice of saints dictated more by tradition or by a donor's demands? The sheer quantity of preserved contemporary windows at Saint-Père makes possible hypothetical answers to many such inquiries.

The circumstantial evidence in the Saint-Père windows seems to reveal a single strong will at work, or more accurately several agents--perhaps no more than two--guiding to completion a beautifully structured master plan. Donors individual wishes played almost no role at all. Although the abbey church received a number of traceable and occasionally sizeable donations for glazing the nave,

206

visual credit for them in the windows, if given at all, is extremely discreet. Nicolas de Maison-Maugis, a canon of the cathedral and one of the abbey's most generous donors,[1] is not represented at all. Three anonymous benefactors, an abbot and a secular couple (Bay 19 and Bay 26), are honored in figures so insignificant that they have passed completely unnoticed in previous descriptive accounts of the glazing. From the visual point of view the Canon Lawrence Voisin,[2] another benefactor of the abbey, is quite the most conspicuous donor in the church. Yet his figure and that of the Virgin to whom he is praying have been inserted into the complex program of the nave bays with almost no disruption of their sequence, either stylistically or iconographically.

I propose first to describe the general arrangement of subjects in the church with some attempt to interpret the chronology of their execution. Then I shall deal in greater detail with the iconography of the choir where the glass has been reused, then the hemicycle, and finally the two alternating series which comprise the glazing of the nave.

The iconographic program of the church was carried out with a rare consistency. The glass of the hemicycle, a brilliant, colored glory undiminished by grisaille, contains devotional saints and apostles standing beneath canopies, surmounted by a series of medallions illustrating martyrdoms in the tracery. The large figures of the hemicycle flank a central axial bay in which are found the Virgin and Child and the Crucifixion, a particularly rèmois program found both in the late twelfth-century glass of St.-Remi de Reims and later in both glazing programs of the hemicycle of Reims cathedral.[1] The choir alternates vertical strips of grisaille with a solemn parade of large standing prophets and patriarchs. The nave bays also combine grisaille and color, alternating two window designs. One contains legends unfolding in canopied rows while the other presents large canopied saints framed by grisaille or diaper. The uniqueness of the design in French gothic art has been commented upon in the chapters on style. The north side of the nave is devoted to the New Testament, presenting large figures of the apostles, the lives of the Baptist and Peter, and scenes from the Passion. On the south church history is

---

[1] See discussion Chapter I.

[2] See discussion Chapters I and X.

---

[1] VF, pp. 108 and 140; William Hinkle, The Portal of the Saints of Reims Cathedral, A Study in Mediaeval Iconography (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts XIII), College Art Association, 1965, Appendix G (St.-Remi) and Appendix J (Reims cathedral); Hans Reinhardt, La Cathédrale de Reims Paris, 1963, pp. 183, 186, and pls. 42 and 43.

208

illustrated by standing pope-, bishop- and abbot-saints, the lives of the virgins Agnes and Catherine and of the saints instrumental in bringing Christianity to France, Clement and Denis, as well as a life of the Virgin in which the apocryphal accounts concerning Anne and Joachim are given great emphasis.

spelling
apocryphal

The iconographic program falls into two phases, although the second was probably no more than an elaboration of the original conception. The choir and hemicycle comprise the original phase of planning, on a simpler level, while the program for the nave glazing marks a fresh and more sophisticated approach to both design and iconography. There seems to be no time lapse between them, and indeed the two phases may have overlapped slightly.

Because the Old Testament prophets in the choir take their place in the general iconographic scheme so naturally, the assumption is fairly sound that the over-all plan for the clerestory was devised at the time they were moved to their present home, ca. 1270-80. Their original position, real or intended, is unimportant to iconographic studies. What is important is that, when the plan was conceived to redesign them for the new choir, the glazing of the hemicycle, the devotional focus of the church, was undoubtedly planned as well. The abbey, which had been building and glazing for over a hundred years, very likely had to pause during the following years for funds. This short hiatus in the work probably occurred between the choir, designed at little expense employing much older grisaille and figured glass, and the hemicycle. There is no indication in either series of any private donations. Work probably was resumed on the hemicycle series before the end of the century and the St. Louis of the axial bay, possibly inserted when the windows were nearing completion, was among the first devotional figures of the new king-saint, dating perhaps as early as ca. 1300-05.

windows

The program was completed in the nave with the aid of several large benefactions in the first two decades after 1300. The earliest glazing of the nave legend series is a donation by the Abbot Jean de Mantes (Bay 22). It includes a hodge-podge of panels hastily assembled, some of which must have comprised a shorter series intended for elsewhere. The probable date of their assembly in the nave is 1306. The Abbot Jean thus takes on pivotal importance as the prime mover behind the marvelous artistic achievement of the nave. In piecing together documentation of donations, stylistic

210

evidence and clues gleaned from the iconographic program the presence is felt of an erudite and tasteful, strong-willed administrator. It seems altogether probable that this force was the Abbot Jean.

Jehan de Mante became abbot in the spring of 1306.[1] A man of some means and devoted to his church in the four brief years of his abbacy, he donated not only the glazing of Bay 22 but also a 'majorem campanam' for the belfry. The state of the glazing program in the year of his election was probably the following--choir completed, hemicycle in the works and almost completed, and nave either not yet begun or in a preliminary planning stage. The inclusion of St. Louis and St. Gilduin, the abbey's local saint, in prime position under the crucified Christ in the axial bay of the hemicycle may possibly have been one of his first artistic decisions. The pair of specific and supremely appropriate saints differs vastly, from an iconographic point of view, from the mass of vaguely identified holy men which surrounds them.

The nave, however, was the large task of the early fourteenth century. When, a quarter century before, Old Testament figures were programmed for the choir and a radiance of apostles and martyrs for the hemicycle, it is possible that legends were intended for the nave. The nave windows are of the older doublet-and-rose form with no vertical mullions interrupting their broad expanse. Whatever the original proposal, it was probably revised, elaborated and refined to play upon the stylistic and iconographic ideas already presented in the late thirteenth century glazing. The complicated stylistic program of the nave is related to the earlier groups as variations to a theme.[1] The description applies equally to the iconography.

---

[1] See discussion Chapters I, IV, XI.

The confusion of apostles, abbots, and bishops in the hemicycle was ordered in the nave as though a magnet had been dropped among iron filings. The iconographic relationship between the *ante legem* patriarchs of the choir and the *sub legem* saints of the nave was intentionally underscored by stylistic devices. The panel size and proportion and the vertical color-grisaille format of the older glass was tastefully adapted to the nave windows, broader and squatter in proportion and lacking mullions. Several of the subjects of the martyrdom medallions of the hemicycle tracery were taken over and elaborated as full-scale legends

Broader

---

[1] See discussion Chapter IV.

in the nave: The Annunciation and Nativity of Bay 1 in the Virgin lancet (Bay 19), the martyrdoms of the Baptist (Bays 3 and 26) and of Peter and Paul (Bays 2 and 22).[1]

Within the nave itself the pattern is clear. Bays of legends alternate with framed, single standing saints, the whole presenting a statement of the origins of Christianity and church history, including reference to the abbey of Saint-Père. On the north apostles are interleaved with the legend of the Precursor, the Passion of Christ and the life of Peter, the whole forming a sort of visual Gospel. On the south the saints of ecclesiastical history, popes, bishops, and abbots, take their places amidst the legends of two virgin saints, the two martyrs (Sts. Clement and Denis) who effected the transfer of Christianity to France, and the Virgin Mary and her mother of particular Chartrain veneration. Reference to the abbey itself is confined largely to its royal and ecclesiastical connections, as in the coupling of Sts. Louis and Gilduin, and the choice of a Benedictine abbot and a Chartrain bishop among the nave saints. With the notable exception of Gilduin, who was buried at Saint-Père, relics owned by the abbey are not honored. The iconography presents a perfectly balanced statement, in art, of the history and meaning of Christianity as exemplified by a particular Christian church.[1]

---

[1] Three of the hemicycle medallions are now missing, one from Bay 5 and the two originally designed for the now blind Bay 7. The hemicycle medallion subjects not found in the nave are Eustace and the three deacon-saints Stephen, Vincent and Lawrence. Nave legends not adopted from the hemicycle are those of the two virgin-saints Agnes and Catherine. Clement and Denis present a more sophisticated relationship with the hemicycle (see discussion infra).

The choice of the saints which fill in this outline is worthy of study. The confused jumble of apostles reflects the general uncertainty of the period concerning their number and precise identity, an uncertainty no less marked in the apse group. Having decided upon twelve apostles, the early fourteenth century iconographer and glazier were not yet equipped for the tasks of identifying them 'correctly' and of providing them all with distinguishable attributes. In the twelve are three Jameses, the associate Barnabas, and a Matthias; Peter, Paul and Simon are omitted altogether. The attributes, as will be seen in the discussions to follow, reflect the general state of flux of such identifying symbols at the end of the thirteenth century. The most startling is the rope given to Judas Thaddeus, a symbol probably derived from the legend of the Lord's betrayer.[1]

---

[1] The iconographic pattern, although explicit, in no way resembles Aubert's general program for medieval glazing (available to English-speaking readers in perhaps a more explicit form than was intended by Aubert, see: Marcel Aubert, French Cathedral Windows of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, New York, 1939, pp. 7-8) and increases the scepticism with which his theory must be regarded. Nor can the theory be said to apply only to early thirteenth century programs. The iconographic ordering of the Chartres cathedral glazing exhibits much greater freedom than that of Saint-Père. The medieval artist organized his material but apparently not according to any pre-determined canon.

The single identified figure in the quartet of abbots (Bay 29) is Benedictine, and at least one of the four bishops (Bay 25) is Chartrain, while one of the two beatified popes (Bay 21) is of significance to Saint-Père because of his connection with the local saint Gilduin.[2] As mentioned above, the importance of the relic of St. Anne in the cathedral probably secured the inclusion of a whole lancet of the Virgin's apocryphal history (right lancet, Bay 19). The two virgin saints Agnes and Catherine (Bay 27) are more difficult to account for. Women saints definitely were not popular at Saint-Père. The church contains no others, and a contemporary missal of the usage of Saint-Père includes in its series of saints only Anne, Agnes and the abbey's local virgin-saint, Soline.[3] Catherine's life, at least, seems to have been fashioned especially for a

spelling ?? apocryphal

---

[1] See Chapter X.

[2] See Chapters VIII and X.

[3] Chartres, Bibl. mun., ms. 519 (1st half 14th c.), burned in W.W. II. (Yves Delaporte, Les Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres, Chartres, 1929, p. 93). The missal includes illuminations of other saints found in the windows: Louis, Clement, Denis, Lubin and Maur, as well as a Church and Synagogue (fol. 130v.) which are strikingly similar to the pair in Bay 18.

theologian donor. Even the famous wheel martyrdom was omitted to obtain space for a detailed exposition of her powers in philosophical debate.

The pairing of Clement and Denis (Bay 23) is the most meaningful grouping in the nave. A priestly iconographer has left an unmistakable mark here in tracing the historical connections of Peter, the patron and name-saint of the abbey, whose legend unfolds directly across the nave in Bay 22, with St. Denis, patron of the royal house of France. Clement, uncommon and otherwise inexplicable, is the link.[1] Consecrated pope by St. Peter, Clement himself was the instigator of St. Denis' mission to the Franks. The pairing of Sts. Louis and Gilduin in Bay 1 of the hemicycle is a parallel idea: a reference to the abbey (Peter, Gilduin) in each case is paired with a reference to the royal house (Denis, St. Louis). The two examples, nave and hemicycle, are very likely contemporary products of the same iconographer.

---

[1] Clement is found next to Denis in the Sainte-Chapelle frescoes, but not in the same bay [Robert Branner, *The Painted Medallions in the Ste-Chapelle in Paris* (American Philosophical Society, Transactions, no. 58), Philadelphia, 1968, fig. 1]. Since the Saint-Pere artist of Bay 23 knew and studied Parisian manuscripts, he may also have known the frescoes. Clement and Denis face each other on the jambs of the south portal of Chartres Cathedral (the Martyrs bay); each is the second figure from the door. Saints included in the Saint-Pere missal (Chartres, Bibl. mun., ms. 519): Louis (fol. 199v.), Denis (fol. 219r.), Clement (fol. 232v.).

Although a direct connection between the abbey and the crown is not specifically documented for the years of the nave glazing, the iconography suggests such a relationship. Saint-Père was not a royal abbey, that is, under the direct control of the king. Nevertheless, it had been among those requested by Philippe-le-Hardi in 1271 to pray for the soul of King Louis and to include him in their necrologies.[1] In 1284 the same king granted the abbey immunity from certain taxation.[2] Bay 19 of the nave was a donation of the near-regal Dreux family (the rose of Dreux[3] and the rose of France confront each other across the cathedral's transept). In 1304 Philippe-le-Bel, who had purchased the county of Chartres in 1286, gave his armor to be exhibited annually on St. Roch's day from the jubé of the cathedral.[4] Perhaps the clue lies hidden in a mandamus

---

[1] Arch. nat. J462 no. 27^{11}: a letter to Philippe-le-Hardi from the abbey confirming his request.

[2] Arch. Eure-et-Loir, H.6 (17th c. copy).

[3] Pierre of Dreux, donor of the south rose of Chartres, was a great-grandson of Louis VI.

armor

[4] Jean Mallion, Chartres, le jubé de la cathédrale, Chartres, 1964, p. 18. The armor in question, including a helmet crowned by golden lilies, was that worn by Philippe-le-Bel in the victory of Mons-en-Puelle. It is now found, minus the golden lilies, in the Museum of Chartres (according to Mâle, Notre-Dame de Chartres, Dijon, 1963, p. 10 and n. 4).

Dijon

from Philippe-le-Bel to his war-tax collectors early in 1296, which contains an oblique reference to an unspecified royal pledge of funds to the abbey.[1] In the last five years of the century royal money most certainly would have been employed by the abbey for glazing. It is perhaps such a benefaction which is commemorated by the groupings of Sts. Louis and Gilduin in the hemicycle and of Sts. Peter, Clement and Denis in the nave.

The probable iconographic sources of the legend windows of the nave provide a fascinating glimpse into the working methods of an early fourteenth century stained glass shop. Given the pattern and order of subjects the artist or artists seem to have relied to an almost exclusive degree on manuscripts or portable objects. In the Passion window (Bay 18) the primary source--unknown--can even be dated approximately as a work of at least a century earlier. The St. Anne lancet of Bay 19 is another strangely *retardataire* example, exhibiting the rambling narrative and proliferation of detail usually marking the work of an earlier age. For the Church and Synagogue figures in the Passion window the artist used an illumination from a traceable thirteenth century missal.[1]

---

[1] Arch. Eure-et-Loir, H. 25 (18th c. copy found in Dom Muley, Bibl. Chartres ms. 1136, CLV): letter from Philippe-le-Bel to collectors of the cinquantieme war-tax, in which he orders the collectors to pay part of it collected from the region back to the abbey "juxta ordinationem a nobis factam. . . ." Guérard discussed this letter and the cinquantieme tax briefly in v. 1, p. clv, para. 136.

The legends of Agnes, Catherine, and Clement seem to rely heavily on the text of the Golden Legend rather than on visual sources. Parts of the life of Peter (the later panels) seem to record details from canonical texts not customarily found in art. The St. Denis lancet, however, presents such a clear relationship with two manuscripts of the Abbey of St.-Denis that a trip by the glazier to the library and scriptorium there is not only possible but likely. The three volumes of the '1317' life of the saint, in the works for years and probably near completion at the death of Philippe-le-Bel in 1314, remained in the workshop for three more years awaiting an interleaved translation for the new king. Sometime during these years, before the book's transfer in 1317 to royal possession, the glazier probably saw it and the '1250' saint's life which was owned by the Abbey of St.-Denis as well.

---

[1] See discussion Chapter XI, Bay 18.

The Virgin lancet (Bay 19) and the beautiful Baptist window (Bay 26) are classic works in the mainstream of French gothic iconographic tradition. Each, however, contains a minute clue to an unusual source. The Nativity in Bay 19 includes a mid-wife undoubtedly copied from a non-French art object of the eleventh century or before. The Virgin in the Baptist's Nativity in Bay 26 derives from the Italian Pseudo-Bonaventura Meditations (dating in the latter thirteenth century) and at Saint-Père she makes perhaps her first appearance in the north.

The subject matter of the glazed clerestory of Saint-Père can be studied not only for its intrinsic interest but as a valuable statement of the limitations and possibilities of an age.

CHAPTER VII

CHOIR: ICONOGRAPHY

The exclusive subject-matter of the choir is an impressive array of forty large-size standing figures of Old Testament prophets and patriarchs[1] holding closed books, palms or phylacteries. With a handful of exceptions the scrolls and inscription bands carry only decorative floral or pseudo-script motifs, and as the figures have no attributes specific identification in most cases is impossible. Some of the figures are veiled, some wear Phrygian pointed caps, some are bearded. All are shod and eight of them are nimbed. The haloes probably function as elements of design rather than of identification, as they do not adorn all of the beatified prophets.[2] Nineteen cartoons

beatified

---

[1] See Chapters I and II for discussion. The four figures of Bay 13 are the work of François Lorin in the 1950's, replacing panels lost during World War II (See Pl.34c). The medieval designs are preserved in a photograph taken probably ca. 1905 (Arch. phot. 196401) (Pl. 34b) and in a drawing of one of the figures in Olivier Merson, Les Vitraux, Paris, 1894, fig. 38 (p. 75).

[2] Many but not all of the prophets were sainted by the church. In the thirteenth century, however, prophets were frequently combined nimbed and unnimbed in an indiscriminate manner. At Saint-Père all of the nimbed prophets who are identified by name (Daniel, Habakuk, Enoch, Ezekiel) were actually saints. The figure in Bay 12 called "NOEL,' however, has no hale, although both Noah and Johel (both of the possible identifications) were sainted.

2-2-1

were used for the forty figures, most of them appearing twice or more (see chart, Chapter II).

Six of the forty figures are named. These are 'DAHIEL,' 'ABBACVC' and "EHOh' in Bay 10 (Pl. 27), 'EZEKEEL' in Bay 11 (Pl. 29), 'NOEL' in Bay 12 (Pl. 32) and 'BALAAM' in Bay 13 (Pl. 34b) (Balaam was destroyed in World War II).[1] It is conceivable that some of the phylacteries now filled with a primitive pseudo-script originally held names, but the lovely foliate ornament found in many of the black "inscription bands" behind the figures' heads is original thirteenth century decoration. Occasional figures have neither scroll nor black band. The series, therefore, in its present location in the choir,[2] has never contained appreciably more identifying labels than it has now.

foliate

---

[1] See footnote 1, supra, p. . The six inscriptions were probably renewed during the 1905-08 restorations, as 19th c. authors report them variously. 'NOEL,' called Johel by Bulteau (pp. 293-99), is probably the figure identified by Clerval (4th ed., p. 234) as Moses (he is not Moses, who from the twelfth century regularly wore horns, see Arthur Watson, The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse, Oxford, 1934, pp. 26ff). 'EZEKEEL' is called Malaléel (Poisson, p. 417) or Malachi (Bulteau). Clerval refers to an Elisha who is apparently the present 'ENOh,' undoubtedly Enoch (H = N, as in the DAHIEL at Saint-Père; H = CH, as in EZEHIEL of Notre Dame north rose [CVMA France I, pp. 47, 51, G-4 and R-1]). The only 19th c. identification which cannot be accounted for is an Aaron which Bulteau says was on the south side of the choir.

[2] See discussion, Chapter II.

Bays 8-13 and 16-17 contain glass which predates the architecture by several decades, while Bays 14-15 were probably designed to harmonize with the older series when the choir was rebuilt. The six names occur in the earlier group, and it is quite possible that in their intended location (the nave clerestory?) all bore names--on bases, above their heads, in the ground?--which have not survived. By the time of their reuse ca. 1270-75 personalizing attributes were gaining the ascendancy over mere name inscriptions as a device for identification. The four cartoons designed for the eight figures of Bays 14-15 (Pls. 37 and 39), although each repeated exactly, were slightly more individualized: one figure is bald (Jonah?),[1] one wears a peculiar layered cap, and two seem to be women, possibly the Sybil.[2]

---

[1] Elijah and Elisha were occasionally shown bald, but Jonah was by far the most common smooth-pated patriarch. Jonah's baldness is based ultimately on the Rabbinical Midrash Jonah, which says: "The intense heat in the belly of the fish had consumed his garments, and made his hair fall out. . . ." (Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, trans. Henrietta Szold (Philadelphia, 1936), IV, 252), Carl-Otto Nordström ("Some Jewish Legends in Byzantine Art," Byzantion, XXV-XXVII (1955-57), 487-508) gives examples in Christian art: (a) Byzantine manuscript, the Theodore Psalter, 1066 A.D., Brit. Mus. Add. 19352, fol. 201r (illustrated pl. IX); and (b) Catalan Bible of 1st half 11th c., Bible of Sant Pere de Roda, BN lat. 6, III, fol. 83r (see also: Carl-Otto Nordström, "Rabbinic Features in Byzantine and Catalan Art," Cahiers archéologiques, XV (1965), 179-205, fig. 11 on p. 196). I am indebted to Prof. George Stricevic for the Nordström reference.

[2] Erythraea was the only sybil shown in 13th and 14th c. French art, according to Mâle, XIII, Bk. IV, Ch. V:1, citing Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. histor. II, cap. cii. She was occasionally included with the prophets as a herald of the Last Judgment. A sybil was customarily included in prophet dramas. See Watson, pp. 20ff. and Appendix I, p. 148.

Daniel and Ezekiel, two of the greater prophets, and Habakuk, a lesser one, were extremely common in thirteenth century prophet cycles in sculpture and glass. The patriarch Balaam was not at all rare in the early thirteenth century,[1] but his popularity seems to have abated in later art. He is not found in the extensive prophet sycle in the clerestory of Saint-Urbain de Troyes ca. 1275, nor in the north rose of Notre-Dame (1255). Balaam was considered to have prophesied the Nativity. He was mentioned in early sermons on the Virgin[2] and was regularly among the procession of prophets in medieval dramas.[3] His presence at Saint-Père among the few named figures helps confirm a pre-1250 date for the choir glass.

Enoch, the father of Methuselah, is a rare participant in medieval prophet cycles. Thirteenth century illustrations of his assumption occur occasionally, but as a large single figure in an Old Testament series he appears only in the late-twelfth century remnants from Canterbury[4] and the early thirteenth century medallions of the Virgin chapel at Lyons.[1] No less than Balaam, his presence adds weight to an early dating for the Saint-Père choir glass.

---

[1] Balaam is one of the embrasure statues on the north porch, right portal, of Chartres, and is among the patriarchs on an ivory casket from Saint Ived-de-Braine, 1200-50 [Cluny Museum, illustrated in Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1923, Plates III, pl. XII (62e)].

[2] For example, sermons of Honorius d'Autun (*PL* clxxii, see especially col. 846); and Pseudo-Augustine, 'Sermo contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos' (*PL* xlii, col. 1117). See Watson, p. 23.

[3] Watson, pp. 148-49, Appendix I, lists four 12th-14th c. prophet dramas.

[4] Bernard Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1949), Pl. I.

It is impossible to tell with certainty whether the figure called 'NOEL' is Noah or Johel. Isolated figures of Noah were rare, but do occur at Canterbury in the late-twelfth century (NOE),[2] on an ivory casket of the first half thirteenth century (NOE)[3] and at Saint-Urbain de Troyes (NO. . .E).[4] Johel, one of the minor prophets, is found in glass among the patriarchs in the Bourges clerestory (IOhEL) and at Saint-Urbain de Troyes (IOEL).[5]

Influence of the processions of patriarchal figures in ecclesiastical drama on the Saint-Père group is only slight.[6] None of them carry attributes as did the processional actors. Whereas the Daniel in the choir window corresponds to the type of clean-shaven youth described in the thirteenth century Laon mystery play[1] Habakuk, described in the playscript as bearded and hunchback, is also young and smooth-faced at Saint-Père.[2] So is Enoch, who lived 365 years, and Ezekiel, who customarily wears a beard in art in reference to God's commandment to shave his head and beard.[3] The fact is that the cartoons were copied and prophets' names inserted indiscriminately. Daniel and Enoch are from the same cartoon; so are Habakuk and Ezekiel. The cartoons for Noah/Johel and for Balaam also have been used elsewhere but without inscriptions.

---

[1] Prof. Robert Branner states that "Enoch" is the one 13th c. inscription legible on an archivolt of the Last Judgment portal of Notre-Dame, Paris.

fill in words
ARCHIVOLT-

[2] Rackham, pl. 5c.

[3] Ivory casket from Saint Ived-de-Braine, Cluny Museum (see footnote 1, p. 223, supra).

✓ p. 223

[4] Abbé O.-F. Jossier, Monographie des vitraux de Saint-Urbain de Troyes, Troyes, 1912.

[5] VF, fig. 39 (p. 64).

[6] Enoch and Noah are not part of the prophet procession in drama usually, in any case. Ezekiel and Joel are not commonly found. See Watson, Appendix I; also pp. 16, 22, 27, etc., directed against Mâle.

There is no clue to why these six patriarchs were selected. They present an odd conglomerate of major and minor prophets, types of Christ and of the Assumption, patriarchal annunciators of the Nativity. It seems more likely that they were not selected, that the six names were retained haphazardly in the process of reworking the older series for its new position in the choir. In its original location, which from circumstantial evidence of size, type, dating and design seems to have been the nave clerestory, the Saint-Père Old Testament figures probably formed an important series of the stable stylistic type known from such familiar medieval sites as Bourges early in the thirteenth century, Saint-Urbain de Troyes later in the century and another half-century later still, in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, at Saint-Ouen de Rouen.

---

[1] "Daniel: adolescens, ueste splendida indutus." Laon, Bibl. Comm. ms. 263 (Ordo prophetarum), published by Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, II (Oxford, 1933), 145. Daniel on the north porch of Chartres, left portal, is bearded.

[2] "Abacuc: barbatus, curuus, gibosus." (Young, II, 145.) BN lat. 16746, fol. 7v, Bible of Saint-Bertin de Saint-Omer, 12th c.; the two beardless prophets are Daniel and Habbakuk (Watson, pl. XXIII).

[3] Ezekiel is bearded in the Bourges clerestory (Clement and Guitard, pl. XXXIX) and in two windows in Chartres Cathedral (Delaporte Plates, III, pl. CCXXXII and pl. CCI).

CHAPTER VIII

HEMICYCLE: LANCETS--ICONOGRAPHY

The hemicycle clerestory windows contain a series of large-size standing figures of apostles and martyrs. Six of the seven bays are still glazed, each presenting four canopied male saints. The axial bay includes a standing Virgin and Child and a Crucifixion with Mary and John in the same canopy format. None of the figures bears a name inscription. Although many were designed from the same cartoons,[1] each bears an attribute or detail of costume which serves to individualize him to a greater or lesser extent. In spirit these huge figures have a greater affinity to the monumental sculpture groups of High Gothic cathedral porches than they do to contemporary stained glass, an effect which probably stems from the profusion of them in such a concentrated space and the sense of mass which is a major element of their style. The coloration is brilliant and unrelieved. There is no grisaille in the hemicycle clerestory for the same reason that there are no inscriptions. These saints were meant not to be studied individually, but to overwhelm as a group. They form a glory eminently suitable for the apse.

---

[1] See list of hemicycle cartoons, Ch. III.

As noted in the Introduction, a program of hemicycle glazing in which the Virgin and Child and the Crucifixion are flanked by apostles and prelates of the church is particularly noteworthy in Saint-Remi and the Reims cathedral campaigns (dating up to c. 1240). The idea appears to have come to Saint-Père from there, and is one more indication of a strong eastern French source for the style of the earliest figures in the choir and for the interest in combining grisaille and color. Whereas the stylistic borrowings were further developed at Saint-Père, the iconographic program of the great rèmois monuments shriveled and weakened. The Virgin and Child and the Crucifixion at Saint-Père are surrounded by a chaos of apostles and prelates, largely unidentifiable and offering none of the rich and precise references to local ecclesiastical life found at Reims. That the rèmois programs were behind Saint-Père seems undeniable, but equally evident is the passage of a generation and more in time, and the more casual view toward iconography which occasionally surfaces in art native to the west of France.

Few of the figures on the hemicycle are easy to identify. Among them are apostles, abbots, bishops, a deacon and a pope, but except for those in the axial bay they are not arranged in any readily discernible order. Most apostles' attributes appear at least twice (ax, pike, cross, fuller's club). The prelate-saints, excepting only St. Peter as Pope, carry no identifying attributes.

The four figures of each bay are as follows (listed in order, top right, top left, bottom right, bottom left):

Bay 1: Virgin and Child; Crucifixion with Mary and John; St. Gilduin; St. Louis of France.

Bay 2 (north): St. Peter as Pope; apostle with palm; archbishop saint; apostle with sheathed sword.

Bay 3 (south): apostle with cross; St. Paul (with bare sword); apostle with curved stick (fuller's club?); apostle with ax.

Bay 4 (north): apostle with ax; apostle holding bare sword by the blade;[1] bishop saint; apostle with fuller's club.

---

[1] At Bourges St. Paul holds a bare sword by the blade. For illustration see Marcel Aubert, *French Cathedral Windows of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (New York, 1939), pl. XVII (apse, south side). At Saint-Père, however, the bald apostle in Bay 3 who, with Peter opposite, frames the axial bay is undoubtedly Paul.

Bay 5 (south): apostle with pike; apostle with palm; apostle with cross; St. Barnabas with flame?

Bay 6 (north): abbot saint; apostle with pike; abbot saint; St. Bartholomew with knife.

Bay 7 (south): now blind.[1]

Aside from the identified figures of Bay 1 there are one archbishop, one bishop, two abbots, Saints Peter and Paul, Bartholomew, Barnabas and twelve other apostles. The figures of the axial bay will be discussed first, and then some attempt will be made at positive identification of the remaining saints of the apse.

The crowned Madonna in Bay 1 (Pl. 13) holds a scepter in one hand and supports the Child with the other. The Christchild, with a cruciferous halo, holds a small round object (ball? apple?) which, as it is held downward rather than up, is probably not a ritual object. With the other hand He plays with His mother's veil. The Virgin's stance is frontal, only minimally swayed, and she does not incline toward her Son. The Crucifixion in the left lancet shows Christ in a long loin cloth on a tau-cross, His head drooped on one arm, His body bent in an exaggerated curve, and His feet nailed with a single nail. Above Him are a small sun and moon and below are dignified standing figures of the grieving Mary and Saint John.

---

[1] Remnants exist of one of the four lost figures, a bishop saint. See: Lillich, "Découverte," pp. 28-32.

The two lower saints in this bay, Saints Gilduin and Louis, are of specific significance to the abbey, the former a local patron saint and the latter one of the earliest representations of the holy king after his canonization. Saint Gilduin is a rare Norman saint who died and was buried in the abbey of Saint-Père in the late eleventh century. He is shown dressed as a deacon, but unlike a deacon holds a crozier.[1]

buried

The erroneous identification of Saint Gilduin as the more familiar deacon-martyr Stephen, probably first made

---

[1] The present crozier head is a restoration made in ca. 1905. Photographs taken before the restorations at that time clearly show the deacon-saint holding a staff with some kind of blob at the top curving toward him (Arch. phot. 196394, 196395, Pls. 9c, 12). Dom Aubert, whose visual descriptions are reliable, reports a crozier in 1672, although he mistakenly identifies the saint as Stephen: "St. Estienne revetu en diacre une crosse en la main comme patron dudit abbé Estienne. . . ." (ch. 90) (manuscript cited and discussed in footnote infra).

Estienne

by Dom Bernard Aubert[1] (a sub-prior of the abbey in the late seventeenth century), sowed the single seed from which grew a whole forest of false theories concerning the date and provenance of the Saint-Père glass. As Saint Stephen never carries a crozier[2] the monk-historian explained its presence as evidence that the figure was the patron name-saint of an abbot-donor. If the theory were true it would be an example of extreme precocity, as the practice of honoring name-saints was not current in France until well into the fourteenth century. In searching for his hypothetical abbot-donor, Dom Aubert, confronted by a choice between Abbé Etienne II (1394-1416), too late for his purposes, and Etienne I (1172-93), conferred upon the latter the honor of donating all the stained glass in the church.[1] Gallia Christiana incorporated his theory as fact, and it has remained viable to the present time.[2]

---

[1] Dom Bernard Aubert, "Veritable inventaire de l'histoire de la Royalle Abbaye de Sainct Pere-en-Vallée de Chartres," 1672, Chartres Bibl. mun., ms. 1151, ch. 90. The manuscript is in a cramped messy seventeenth century hand and was badly singed during World War II. A clear copy made for Roger de Gaignières is in the BN, ms. fr. 22474 (Gaignières 231), as is a less legible abridged version by Dom Charles du Jardin, prior in 1709, BN fonds lat. ms. 12689, p. 306.

[2] The nearest approximation among his attributes would be the bannered staff found infrequently in late medieval Italian paintings and manuscripts.

The saint's true identity was first revealed by the Abbé Poisson in a local mid-nineteenth century publication of small circulation[3] and has won a limited

---

[1] "Après que le corps de l'abbé Foucher [1163-71] fut inhumé les moines de St. Père, elurent pour abbé Etienne leur confrère. . . . Cet abbé apres son election fit achever l'eglise, et notamment il fit faire les vitres du choeur et de la nef. . . . L'ouvrage de ces vitres embellit entierrement l'eglise, et quand l'abbé Estienne n'auroit fait faire que cela en l'abbayé de St. Pere, il seroit digne d'une eternelle memoire." (Dom Aubert, ch. 90.)

[2] Gallia Christiana, VIII, col. 1226: "Stephanus I sedebat anno 1172. Ecclesiam vitreis fenestris ornavit, eique supremam manum imposuit." Guérard reiterates the theory in his famous edition of the Saint-Père cartularies (v. 1, p. cclj) and it can be found in many nineteenth and twentieth century guidebooks. The most recent examples are the labels of the photo-montages made after the restorations of the early 1950's (Arch. phot. 59N-315 19561, Pl. 13) and VF, p. 165 (Marcel Aubert, "De 1260 à 1380.").

[3] Abbé Jean-Charles-Benjamin Poisson, Chroniques de l'abbaye royale de St.-Père-en-Vallée, Chartres, Garnier, 1857.

> Il y a donc apparence que le diacre crossé qu'on a pris pour saint Etienne, en faisant honneur des verrières actuelles. . . à l'abbé Etienne, successeur de Fulcher, n'est autre que saint Gilduin, diacre également, et de plus évêque nommé de Dol, dernier titre dont la crosse est le symbole. Qu'on n'objecte pas qu'au lieu d'une crosse à la main (footnote: 'Cette crosse dont parle d. Aubert a disparu; ça été, à n'en pas douter, par les réparations qu'on a faites au vitrail'), le personnage représenté sous les habits de diacre devrait avoir une croix, marque de l'archiêpiscopat dans les sculptures et les peintures

✓ no period

du Moyen-Age; il y avait longtemps déjà que Rome avait décidé que le vrai métropolitain de Bretagne était l'archévêque de Tours (footnote: 'En 1199, par le pape Innocent III.') et que les évêques de Dol avaient usurpé un titre qui ne leur appartenait pas; on se conformait donc dans la légende à la décision du suprême Pontife. Louis IX, la gloire de la monarchie française, et Gilduin, la gloire de Saint-Père, furent placés au lieu le plus éminent, l'un sous le Christ . . . , l'autre sous la Vierge. . . (pp. 389-90).

Also: '. . . un saint diacre; autrefois il avait une crosse à la main, ce qui indique un évêque: ce symbole montre évidemment qu'on a voulu, représenter Saint Gilduin, jeune diacre, arch-évêque nommé de Dol, qui, à l'époque où furent placés les vitraux, n'était plus qu'un évêche, le Pape ayant terminé la grande question de la primauté entre elle et Tours. Saint Gilduin avait été le bienfaiteur de cette église de Saint-Pierre par les nombreuses offrandes qu'il avait attirées à son tombeau; on lui devait son achèvement, il était juste de lui donner place au milieu des sants patrons (p. 414).

Also: 'Les chroniques de Saint-Père |i.e., Dom Aubert| qui attribuent à l'abbé Etienne Ier l'achèvement du monument à la fin du XIIe siècle et la pose des verrières, donnent le diacre pour Saint Etienne, patron de l'abbé, et le roi de France pour Louis VII, ce brûleur d'église. Elles prenaient la crosse du diacre comme indication que c'était le patron de l'abbé,explication un peu forcée, pour ne pas dire extraordinaire. Mais les verrières sont beaucoup plus récentes; elles sonts du XIVe siècle. . . . J'ai cherché un autre abbé du nom d'Etienne; le second du même nom ne se rencontre dans la liste des abbés de Saint-Père qu'au commencement du XVe siècle, Etienne II le Baillif, époque trop rapprochée pour faire à celui-ci l'honneur des verrières (p. 414, fn. 1).

acceptance.[1] The theory of the mythical twelfth century abbot-donor has, however, remained alive as the basis for unfounded speculations about the dating of the prophet series in the choir[2] and the existence of lost glazing in the chapels and aisles of the twelfth century chevet.[1] It is time that the house of cards fell in. The statement in Gallia Christiana upon which all such theories are based was undoubtedly adopted from the manuscript of Dom Aubert, who built his conclusions on an erroneous identification of the deacon-saint in question. There is no firm evidence that the twelfth century chevet was ever glazed by Abbé Etienne or indeed by anyone else.[2]

---

[1] See: Abbé Victor Pasquier, *L'Eglise et l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre de Chartres, notice historique et guide* (Chartres, 1921), and a more recent guidebook signed "V.P.," *Eglise Saint-Pierre de Chartres, ancienne abbatiale des moines de Saint-Père-en-Vallée* (Chartres, 1954), p. 41. Louis Réau adopts the identification in *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, III, pt. 2 (Paris, 1958-59), 592-93. The Canon Yves Delaporte, in conversation in 1960, also referred to the figure as St. Gilduin.

[2] One of the great pioneers in stained glass studies in France, Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, unable to reconcile the 'twelfth century donor' of *Gallia Christiana* with the existing windows of the hemicycle, substituted the prophet series in the choir as the abbot's donation. (*Histoire de la peinture sur verre*, Paris, 1857, p. 40). He further stated on this evidence that the choir prophets were the largest known figures for their date, which he took to be the 1180's. He was parroted by Olivier Merson in 1894 (*Les Vitraux*, Paris, p. 75) and by Bushnell in 1914 (*Storied Windows*, New York, p. 116), although Hugh Arnold had punctured his trial balloon in 1913 (*Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France*, London, 1st ed., 1913): ". . . (The choir had been glazed in 1172. (Arnold's footnote: "Lasteyrie would have it that the existing windows represent this glazing--an extraordinary mistake for him to make--but it is just possible that they contain figures from the older windows."). The upper part of this choir was, however, pulled down in 1270, and rebuilt with large traceried windows. . ." (pp. 185-86 and n. 1). Arnold has not laid the mythical abbot-donor to rest, only relegated his 'donation' to the limbo of lost glazing. With his customary astuteness he sensed that the prophet figures of the choir might have been reused, as they undoubtedly were, although in attributing them to Abbot Etienne he has made a mistake as extraordinary as de Lasteyrie's.

St. Gilduin had tremendous importance to the abbey.[3] Returning from Rome, he had sickened and died at Saint-Père in 1077. His mother was the daughter of Hugues, seigneur du Puiset, vicomte de Chartres, and his father the seigneur of Dol and of Combourg in Brittany. He had been chosen at an extremely young age to be archbishop of Dol and had undertaken the trip to Rome to persuade Pope Gregory of his unworthiness for such an office. On the return trip he was striken with fever while visiting relatives of the Chartrain house of Puiset. He was buried beneath the choir of Saint-Père.

---

[1] The theory that the Abbé Etienne donated glass to the lower windows, where it conveniently could have been destroyed during the Revolution, was first suggested by the Abbé Bulteau in 1850 (Description de la cathédrale de Chartres, Chartres, p. 293) and has never seriously been challenged. See for example Charles Lorin, "Médaillon du XIIe siècle dans l'église Saint-Pierre de Chartres," Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Le Cinquantenaire, 1906, I, p. 509.

[2] A single twelfth century panel of unknown origin, used as a stop-gap in the church, was removed during the ca. 1905 restorations. See Ch. I.

[3] It is perhaps only fair to outline the specific importance of St. Stephen (the former identification of the figure) to the abbey as well, for which there are miscellaneous bits of evidence: (a) the head of St. Stephen is listed among the abbey's relics in the inventory of 1399. (See F. de Mély, "Les Inventaires de l'abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée," Revue de l'art chrétien, ser. 4, V (XXXVII), Jan. 1887, 64, who suggests that the head may have been a gift of the seigneurs de Puiset returning from

---

(footnote continued) crusade). (b) The next surviving inventories, of 1559 and 1665, although they do not list the head, include an arm bone of St. Stephen. Dom Aubert is the untrustworthy source for two other items: (1) he identifies the three corner statues of the cloister built by Abbé Etienne II in 1407 (now destroyed) as Peter as Pope, Paul, and Stephen as deacon holding an abbatial crozier as patron of Abbé Etienne. (On the destroyed cloister see Paule Bienvenüe, "Les Bâtiments conventuals de l'ancienne abbaye Saint-Père de Chartres," Bulletin monumental, CXVI, 1958, 7-27. Mlle. Bienvenüe, a student of Elie Lambert, states in a note on p. 14 that Lambert believes the three lost statues to have been thirteenth century.) (2) Dom Aubert identifies the remains of an old chapel on the church's exterior, at the easternmost bay of the south nave (in ruins at time of his writing and since destroyed) as chapel of St. Stephen. He reports that this chapel or a more primitive one occupied that spot from the very beginnings of the abbey in the 6th-7th centuries. According to tradition, he continues, the chapel originally had been a martyrium situated in a cemetery, dedicated to St. Stephen and containing bones of the first chartrain martyrs. The abbey church of Saint-Père and the parish church of Saint-Hilaire (built conjacent to the south of Saint-Père and razed in 1801) were constructed to either side of the ancient martyrium (Dom Aubert, ch. 116).

Almost a century later the construction of the new choir, undertaken after the fire of 1134, had to be suspended for lack of funds. During the excavations for the foundations of a temporary wall to enclose the part of the structure already erected, so the story goes, Gilduin's body was rediscovered in a small vaulted chamber.[1] On May 9, 1165, it was reinterred in a chapel and began to attract pilgrims seeking miraculous cures. Among the first cured was Fulcher, abbot of Saint-Père (1150-May 17, 1171), a sufferer from gout, under whose abbacy the new choir had been begun. Donations made at the tomb enabled the abbey to continue the construction and ultimately to add a new nave to the completed choir. St. Gilduin was therefore, in a sense, the donor of the abbey's new church and eminently worthy to be honored in its axial window.

---

[1] See discussion ch. I.

His neighbor saint in Bay 1 is another figure of great importance to the abbey, St. Louis.[1] Crowned and nimbed, he carries a book and a scepter and wears a robe decorated with yellow fleurs-de-lys in lozenges under a mantle lined in vair.[2] As the hemicycle windows most probably predate the nave series, begun ca. 1305, the figure assumes importance as one of the very earliest remaining representations of the king after his canonization.

✓ fleurs-de-lys

---

[1] Because of its proximity to Gilduin/"Stephen," this figure was thought in the 17th and 18th centuries to represent Louis le Jeune, "ce brûleur d'église," the monarch contemporary with Abbé Etienne I. See Dom Aubert, ch. 90, who undoubtedly originated the error; also BN, fonds lat. ms. 12689, p. 306 (early 18th c.); Guérard, I, p. cclj (1840). Montfaucon (Les Monumens de la monarchie françoise, Paris, 1730, II, 70) illustrates the figure in his section on Louis VII (pl. XII, no. 2). He reports, however, that although the abbey believes it to be Louis VII, he himself thinks it is either St. Louis or at least a Louis VII made at a later date, in which case the halo and fleurs-de-lys on the tunic would be caprices of the artisan! Guilhermy reports Montfaucon's opinion with some confusion: "Dans son ouvrage . . . Montfaucon a fait graver une figure de roi tirée des vitraux du choeur de St. Père. Il la regarde comme un portrait de Saint Louis"(f. 197v)." Montfaucon a fait graver . . . un St. Louis tiré des vitraux de St. Père, qu'il a pris pour un Louis VII" (f. 199r). (François de Guilhermy, "Notes sur diverses localités de la France. Chalons-sur-Marne--Clermont-Ferrand," BN nouv. acq. fr. 6098 (1856-58) (Saint-Père is found on fols. 197-99r).

[2] The face and part of the hair have been badly restored.

King Louis IX died on crusade in 1270 and was canonized in August of 1297. Whether or not he had taken any specific interest in the construction of Saint-Père during his lifetime cannot be affirmed. It seems altogether likely, however, that his immediate descendants maintained a more than casual interest in Saint-Père and Philippe-le-Bel may have in some way helped finance the glazing program.[1]

Philippe

The crown, scepter and robe sewn with fleurs-de-lys are absolutely typical of the iconography of the new saint as it evolved rapidly after the canonization. The book and fur-lined cloak are also found occasionally in early examples.[2] The Saint-Père figure takes its place easily

---

[1] See Ch. VI.

[2] The Cluny statuette carries a book (illustrated in Paul Deschamps, "La Statue de Saint-Louis à Mainneville (Eure)," Monuments et mémoires (Fondation Eugène Piot), v. 37, 1940, pp. 120ff., fig. 2). A vair-lined cloak similar to the one at Saint-Père is worn by the saint in a portrait on the royal ordinances (Arch. nat. J.J. 57, "Recueil d'ordonnances de l'Hotel du Roi," dated shortly after 1317; illustrated on cover of Saint Louis, catalogue de l'Exposition Saint Louis à la Sainte Chapelle, mai-août 1960, organisée par la Direction générale des Archives de France). Ermine-lined cloaks appear on the Cluny statuette and on the lost statue of Poissy (from a Dominican priory dedicated to St. Louis and built by Philippe-le-Bel, acte de fondation 1304) drawn for Gaignières (BN Cab. des Estampes, O a q, fol. 55) and included in Montfaucon (II, 156 and pl. 21, fig. 4).

241

among the proliferation of images of the sainted king propagated after 1297. Two recent French writers, Paul Deschamps and Joseph de Terline, have been struck by the rapidity with which a coherent type of devotional image of the royal saint evolved. Deschamps would explain the phenomenon in terms of portraiture[1] while Terline hypothesizes concerning a famous 'type,' the statue on the king's lost tomb at Saint-Denis, site of many of the miracles which insured his beautification.[2] The evidence for either theory will probably remain inconclusive as many of the important monuments are completely lost, known only from late drawings, or at the least mutilated or badly weathered. Although the Saint-Père figure heretofore has been overlooked it clearly belongs with the group of art works in question. Its early date and fine condition, moreover, make it an example of considerable importance. Only the face has been repainted, and the original is available for study from a Montfaucon engraving and pre-1906 photographs (Pl. 12).[1]

---

[1] Deschamps, esp. p. 132.

[2] Joseph de Terline, "La Fête de Saint Louis à Saint-Germain-en-laye," Monuments et mémoires (Fondation Eugène Piot), XLV, 1951, esp. 125-27.

The figure originally had a small beard. The king, it is known, did wear such a beard during the latter part of his life and was shown with it in two Parisian fresco cycles executed ca. 1300-05[2] as well as in manuscript cycles of his life, for example the one by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus[3] and the section added in the fourteenth century to the Chroniques de Saint-Denis.[4] He is also shown bearded in the majority of authentic faces in the stained glass cycle at La Trinité de Fécamp, ca. 1308[1] and in his portrait holding the Hand of Justice on the royal ordinances.[2] On the other hand most free-standing devotional statues are clean-shaven[3] as were the figures of the saint in the famous cycle of lost windows of the Saint-Denis sacristy.[4]

---

[1] Montfaucon, II, 70, pl. XII, no. 2. The photographs (Arch. phot. 196394 and 193509, Pls. 11, 12) must be used with caution in light of Guilhermy's report of 1856-58 that "le visage de S. Louis est complètement oblitéré." (BN nouv. acq. fr. 6098, fol. 197v).

[2] Both are now destroyed. The lost frescoes of the lower church, Sainte-Chapelle, can be studied from the Peiresc drawings reproduced in A. Longnon, *Documents parisiens sur l'iconographie de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1882, pl. II-IV, VI. On the lost frescoes of the convent of the Cordelières de Lourcine, adapted in the Livre d'heures of Jeanne d'Evreux by Jean Pucelle in 1325-28 (Cloisters) see: Emile Mâle, "La Vie de Saint Louis dans l'art français au au commencement du XIVe siècle," in *Mélanges Bertaux*, Paris, 1924, pp. 193-204.

[3] BN ms. fr. 5716, dated before 1320. For illustrations see: Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Henri Delaborde, Paris, 1899; fol. 137 in Henri Martin, *La Miniature français du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, Paris-Bruxelles, 1928, fig. XXXVIII.

[4] Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève 782 (no. 197 of *Saint Louis* catalog). Fol. 327r near the beginning of the added section shows Saint Louis crowned, nimbed and bearded, wearing a fleurs-de-lys covered mantle. See: Amédée Boinet, *Les Manuscrits à peinture de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, Paris, 1921 (Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, Paris, *Bulletin*, année 5, 1921) p. 45 and pl. XIV (3).

---

[1] The Fécamp glass is soon to be published for CVMA by Jean Lafond. Of the authentic faces two are shaven and five bearded. On the subject of the beard see: Jean Lafond, "Les Vitraux de l'Abbaye de la Trinité de Fécamp," chapter XLVIII of *Fécamp, l'abbaye bénedictine, ouvrage scientifique du XIIIe centenaire, 658-1958*, Fécamp, 1961, III, p. 107; also Marcel Aubert, "Une verrière du XIVe siècle à la Trinité de Fécamp," *Beaux-Arts, Revue d'information*, VI, 1928, pp. 165-66 (p. 166 mentions that St. Louis is bearded in the panel showing him bringing relics to the Bishop of Paris; the fig. on p. 166 shows the death of a bearded St. Louis). For dating see: Jean Lafond, "Le Vitrail du XIVe siècle en France," in Louis Lefrançois-Pillion, *L'Art du XIVe siècle en France*, Paris 1954, p. 190; Madeline Harrison, "A Life of St. Edward the Confessor in Early Fourteenth Century Stained Glass at Fécamp, in Normandy," *Journal of the Warburg-Courtauld Institutes*, XXVI, 1963, 23ff.

[2] *Saint Louis catalog*, cover illustration.

[3] Mainneville statue, illustrated in Deschamps, figs. 1, 3, 4, 5; wooden statuettes in the Cluny Museum (Deschamps, fig. 2) and the Villiers collection (*Saint Louis* catalog, pl. 17--the hand is a restoration).

[4] Montfaucon, II, pls. XXII-XXV. It is difficult to tell whether the 'five o'clock shadow' in pl. XXIII, 1 (St. Louis instructing his children) was intended to be a slight beard or whether it is only hatching in the engraving to model the face.

How does the existence of the Saint-Père St. Louis, an early devotional image with beard, affect the portraiture and 'famous type' hypotheses? It merges them, as it were. It is altogether likely that the lost tomb statue (put up between 1274 and 1282) was the source of inspiration for devotional images and, on the evidence of such images and of the 'tomb scenes' shown in the Saint-Denis sacristy windows and the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, the lost statue seems to have been crowned, nimbed, garbed in robes of vair and fleurs-de-lys[1] and clean-shaven.[2] It is equally possible that many of the first representations of the sainted king were intended to be portraits as his contemporaries still living at the time of his canonization remembered

---

[1] The only St. Louis figure wearing a fleur-de-lys covered robe in the Saint-Denis sacristy series was the tomb statue of the final scene. Montfaucon, pl. XXV, 2.

[2] The attributes carried by the lost tomb statue are problematical. Among those shown in early images are the double cross, three nails, crown of thorns, hand of justice (found in the Vendôme window, a product of the Western school of stained glass, as well as, more logically, on the cover of the 1317 ordinances), scepter and book. Is it possible that the objects carried by the tomb statue were changed for various feasts or holy days? Dr. Georgia Sommers believes that the lost statue stood upon the tomb and resembled the Mainnevile statue in pose and costume. (Communication of April 24, 1966).

Add to note →

-245

him.[1] The two iconographic types did not retain their individuality for long; in fact they combined at a very early date. This is precisely what has happened at Saint-Père. The type remained popular[2] until the late fourteenth century vogue was introduced of portraying the saint in the features of the reigning monarch.[3]

The saints in the remaining windows of the hemicycle are not arranged in any rigid or logical order. On the south are apostles--eight of them--while on the north, along with seven more apostles, are two abbots, a bishop, an archbishop and a pope. Even this partial separation of sheep and goats has been broken down by the recent discovery of debris of a bishop saint (Pl. 89) probably removed from Bay 7 on the south.[1] The only other discernible pattern to suggest itself would be the placement of all non-apostles in lower positions, as they were before the Bartholomew and an abbot-saint of Bay 6 were interchanged during the ca. 1905 restorations (Pl. 16).

---

[1] Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, "Le tombeau de Saint Louis," Bulletin monumental, CXXVI, 1968, 7-28, discounts completely the possibility of real portraiture. In spite of its title, the article deals at length with the question of whether a real portrait of St. Louis exists (answer: no) rather than what, exactly, was the appearance of the tomb statue. Erlande (pp. 18, 20) goes so far as to claim that the Mainneville statue has no connection to St. Louis at all, but is merely a portrait statue of the then-reigning king, Philippe-le-Bel; he offers no convincing proof of this hypothesis. The existing replicas of St. Louis, both in narrative cycles and in devotional statues, do not seem to me to be as devoid of (a) an attempt, albeit minimal, at personal characterization, and (b) a crystallizing iconographic form, as he so pessimistically mentions.

[2] In the glass medium note the St. Louis at Clermont-Ferrand (mid 14th c.), clerestory Bay J, bearded and holding a scepter.

[3] Erlande denies that this phenomenon in fact took place (p. 20), and presents in point a study of the Louvre statues of Charles V and his wife (pp. 28ff) ascribing them to the church of the Celestines and not, as formerly believed, the chapel of Quinze-vingts.

The single pope is Peter with his double key (Bay 2, Pl. 14), and opposite him in Bay 3 (Pl. 17) is an apostle who can only be Paul, with bald head and bare sword. Together they flank the axial bay. They are, of course, the abbey's patron saints, found together on the abbey seal[2] and in general throughout the middle ages.

All of the other prelate-saints are presented incognito. The guidebook lists of names are uniformly guesswork,[3] as the figures carry no inscriptions or specific attributes. The nave series includes among its similar pope-, abbot- and

---

Decouverte =

[1] Lillich, "Decouverte," pp. 28-32.

[2] See seal appended to Arch. de l'Emp. J227, no. 37 (1300 A.D.) (Doüet d'Arcq, Collection de sceaux, VIII, no. 8186).

[3] L'Abbé Bulteau, Description de la cathédrale de Chartres (Chartres, 1850), pp. 297-98, is the source of most of the later guidebooks.

bishop-saints a handful who bear names, but no valid reason exists for transferring these identifications to the hemicycle. The stylistic, and apparently the iconographic, development in the church traveled in the other direction.

The barefoot apostle figures of the hemicycle, however, do carry attributes. Not including the Peter and Paul already mentioned there are fourteen of them, only one of whom can be positively identified: Bartholomew with his knife (Bay 6, Pl. 20), one of the earliest apostles to receive a standardized attribute. Another one, the lower left apostle of Bay 5 (Pl. 19), can be tentatively labeled Barnabas. He carries a large white object, presently unpainted, which may be either a stone, his customary attribute in the fourteenth century, or a flame, an attribute of which the Saint-Père nave series (Bay 28, Pl. 81) includes one of the extremely rare examples.[1] Barnabas with a flame

attribute

---

[1] Barnabas' flame in Bay 28 is yellow. An unidentified apostle in the clerestory of Saint-Ouen in Rouen, second quarter 14th c., carries a red flame. See: Jean Lafond, *XIV*, p. 198 and p. 232, fn. 20. Other examples of Barnabas holding a flame or fire are: psalter from East Anglia, 2nd half 14th c., in Vienna, Nat.-Bibliothek, Cod. 1826, fol. 154v. (illustrated in Montague Rhodes James, *The Bohun Manuscripts*, Oxford, Roxburghe Club, 1936, pl. LVI (c); a figure (Barnabas?) shown in flames on archivolts of central portal, Auxerre, late 13th-14th c.; two vaguely identified examples in Maurice and Wilfred Drake, *Saints and Their Emblems*, London, 1916, p. 16, showing the saint burned to death or near a fire.

248

was a rare specialty of the Western School of glasspainting, found at Vendôme and Evron as well as Saint-Père.[1]

The attributes carried by the remaining twelve apostles are the following: two palms, two crosses, two fuller's clubs, two axes, two pikes, one bare sword and one sheathed sword. All of them had been introduced into Gothic art by the late thirteenth century as part of a general movement to attempt differentiation between apostles formerly provided with nothing more specific than a book or martyr's sword. Consensus with regard to identifying attributes, slow to develop, certainly had not been reached by the end of the thirteenth century when the Saint-Père windows were designed. The iconographer introduced into his series of hemicycle figures a variety of attributes but apparently did not conceive of them clearly as identifying labels. The existence of two of many of them, usually from different cartoons, is evidence for this assumption.

---

[1] See Chs. IV and V.

The palm, for example, was a rare attribute of St. John[1] during the transitional period, but never served any other apostle.[2] It clearly derives from the apocryphal text of Pseudo-Melito, 'De Transitu Beatao Mariae,'[3] in which the palm, given by the angel Gabriel to the Virgin at the annunciation of her death, is carried by John in her funeral cortege. Are both apostles who carry it--in Bay 2 and in Bay 5--therefore intended to be St. John?

Of the two crosses, one would certainly indicate St. Andrew, one of the earliest apostles to receive a set

---

[1] Bay 24 of the Saint-Père nave shows St. John with a palm. Its use at Saint-Père clearly derives from Tours, where an unnamed, unbearded, apostle in the triforium carries a palm (see Pl. 115). It has been suggested that the stub remaining in St. John's hand on the south porch jambs of Chartres Cathedral was originally a palm (Peter Kidson, Sculpture at Chartres, London, 1958, p. 41); this point remains problematical, however. Infrequent in early gothic art, the palm of St. John is very rarely found as late as the early 14th c., date of its use at Saint-Père. Other late examples: (a) Freiburg cathedral statues on nave piers, 13-14th c.; (b) English embroidered cope, 1st quarter 14th c., Butler-Bowden collection, Chesterfield (A. Christie, English Medieval Embroidery, Oxford, 1938, pl. CXXXVI and fig. 137; (3) St. Elizabeth shrine, the Cloisters, made in France ca. 1340-50.

triforium

gothic

[2] The "palm of martyrdom" was given to many saints but never to apostles, who, if undifferentiated, carry books, rolls and/or swords.

[3] Translated in MR. James, ANT, pp. 209-16. A latin text probably dating from the 4th century, based on earlier Ceptic and Greek versions, it was summarized (and hence disseminated in the west) by Gregory of Tours c. 590 in 'De Gloria Martyrum' (according to T.S.R. Boase, The York Psalter, New York, 1962, p. 8).

✓ANT

Boase

attribute. He appears with the latin cross in Bay 24 of the nave and commonly during the thirteenth century. The other cross could stand for any of several apostles whose attributes were in flux at the time, including Philip, James Lesser, Simon and Peter.[1] The fuller's club, traditional attribute of James Lesser,[2] occasionally served Judas Thaddeus as well.[3] The ax was sometimes carried by Matthias[4] and was a somewhat tardy attribute of Matthew, who until the start of the fourteenth century customarily held a sword;[5] both Judas Thaddeus and Simon were

Lesser

---

[1] It is conceivable that the cross of Bay 5, the lower part of which is modern, was originally a carpenter's square, in which case the saint would be Thomas. See Arch. phot. 196396, taken before the ca. 1905 restorations (Pl. 15b) showing debris in the middle panel of the figure.

[2] 'S. Jacobus' in Bay 24 of the nave (Pl. 68) carries a fuller's club. 'S. Jaco_us Mino_' of Bay 28 (Pl. 81), however, carries a staff. There is also a 'S. Jacobus' in Bay 20 (Pl. 54) holding an ax.

'Jaco_us Mino_'

(use underline mark for the 2 missing letters)

[3] Sculptured retable, Cistercian church of Doberan, 14th c., illustrated in Hans Wentzel, _Die Lübecker Plastik bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts_, 1938, pls. 64-71(14); statues in right choir, Vienna, cathedral of St. Stephen, reworked in 15th c.

[4] An early example is the metal reliquary triptych of the Pfarrkirche at Mettlach, from a Benedictine monastery (ca. 1220) (Hermann Schnitzler, _Rheinische Schatzkammer_, Düsseldorf, 1959, II, pl. 17).

[5] He does so in Bay 20 of the nave (Pl. 54) holding it by the point. Matthias also holds a sword by the point in Bay 28 of the nave (Pl. 81).

251

occasionally provided with axes as well. The pike or lance was a common attribute of Thomas during the latter thirteenth century, but Judas Thaddeus, Matthew and Matthias occasionally appeared with one in the fourteenth century.

As for swords, the general attribute of the middle ages connoting violent death, identification is even less defined.[1] St. James in the early thirteenth century frequently carried a sheathed sword, such as the one shown in Bay 2 (Pl. 14), but by 1300 it would be odd not to find some detail of pilgrim's garb to individualize him.[2] Bare swords could indicate Thomas, Philip, Matthew and Matthias in the thirteenth century, the latter more commonly holding his by the point, as he does in nave Bay 28 (Pl. 81) at Saint-Père.

---

[1] It seems likely that apostles were first given swords (supplementing or replacing the books or phylacteries common in the twelfth century) on the Chartres south jambs, where they stand not only in their usual role as witnesses of the Last Judgment but also as the first martyrs and confessors [central portal: Last Judgment; side portals: Martyrs Portal (left), Confessors Portal (right)]. The apostles were martyred, and did confess Christ by their lives, and so serve as prototypes for both groups of saints (Cf. Matthew 10:28 [martyrdom] and 10:32 ['confession']). Adolf Katzenellenbogen, _The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral_, Baltimore, 1959, p. 80.

[2] The figures of St. James in the nave are equally _retardataire_.

The confusion is such that no solution is possible or likely. The mere fact that, including Peter and Paul, sixteen apostles appear indicates that the artist had no f = t clear idea of the specific identities of all of his figures. Even discounting Paul and Barnabas, who were not among the original twelve, his group still numbers fourteen. We are a long way from the precise lists dictated in the late fifteenth century.

The windows are more important as an example of the growth of interest by the end of the thirteenth century in attributes themselves. At the beginning of that century the apostles--aside from Peter, Paul, Andrew and Bartholomew--held only books and their number fluctuated easily. Fourteen or fifteen was not an unusual number to find if space permitted, and if the saints were identified by inscriptions the group often included evangelists, Paul, Barnabas and other disciples not strictly qualifying as apostles.[1] Generally speaking and with rare exceptions, only the

---

[1] The Bourges series of fourteen includes Paul, Barnabas, Luke and Matthias. Either Paul or Matthias was the customary replacement for Judas Iscariot. The series of twelve at Châlons-sur-Marne (ca. 1275) includes Paul and Matthias. Nine carry attributes other than books.

253

inscribed names differentiated them one from the other. Attributes appear intermittently but with no consistent development during the mid-thirteenth century.[1] By the end of the century most apostles carry attributes other than books, but by no means always the same ones. The idea definitely had taken root, however. The refinement and crystalization of the group and of their individual labels was to occupy the whole of the fourteenth century. In the Saint-Père hemicycle, where not a single figure of the amorphous group carries only a book, this transitional moment is epitomized.

Another interesting feature about the Saint-Père group is the juxtaposition of early and late, common and rare attributes. St. James with nothing but a sheathed sword is retardataire by 1300. The palm of St. John is a rarity which may have traveled the route of the Western glazing school.[2] Barnabas is a saint who certainly did so. The axes, pikes and crosses were precocious emblems of most saints until many decades of the fourteenth century had passed. On the other hand traditions were often adopted where they existed, hence, the Bartholomew with his knife and Peter with his keys and papal raiment, also Paul with the bald head and Andrew with a latin cross. Iconography is in transition in Saint-Père as surely as is the Gothic style.

---

[1] Because of the mutilations and restorations of embrasure statues such as those of Chartres and Amiens, the most reliable evidence must be sought in other media. Several of the very early examples of specific attributes are German. See Rhenish metal reliquary of ca. 1220 (Schnitzler, II, pl. 17).

[2] See Tours triforium windows, where the apostles are likewise not named (Pl. 115).

The original iconographic program for the hemicycle was thus, basically, one of rèmois origin and rather general appeal: the Virgin and Child and the Crucifixion, as emblems of the Infancy and Passion, surrounded by a selection of apostles and prelate-saints. The inclusion in important balance positions of the abbey's patrons Peter and Paul, one shown as an apostle and the other as a prelate, drew the only topical reference. It is only in the relegation of martyrs to a quite secondary role that one senses the character of Saint-Père--clearly not a monastery strong on evangelical fervor, but rather one with temporal power and the aspirations which accompany it. It was the addition to the axial bay of the equivalent figures of Sts. Louis and Gilduin which was to provide for us the unambiguous statement of the abbey's position, its royal connections, its 'personality' as an institution.

CHAPTER IX

HEMICYCLE: TRACERY MEDALLIONS--ICONOGRAPHY

In the tracery above the standing saints of the hemicycle is a series of quatrefoils, three to a bay. Two of each trio contain scenes of martyrdoms, while in the uppermost medallion of each bay an angel flying upside-down holds out two crowns. The angel cartoon is repeated identically in all bays of the hemicycle, even the axial one where it surmounts not two martyrdoms but the Annunciation and Nativity. The _ange porte-couronne_ was a familiar Parisian motif in the thirteenth century,[1] particularly adaptable to tracery lights.

The series of tracery medallions directly below the angels contains, excepting only the Annunciation and

---

[1] Zone 4 of the south rose, Notre-Dame, has two medallions of angels carrying two crowns (CVMA France I, 1959, pl. 12 [H19]). Many of the tracery lights of the choir clerestory of Le Mans, a monument combining stained glass of Parisian and Western influences, also contain the angel motif. See also the manuscript of the Vita S. Dionysii, BN nouv.acq.fr. 1098, fol. 34r (dated 1250, from Abbey of Saint-Denis), and the Ste-Chapelle dado.

Nativity of Bay 1, scenes of martyrdoms of important saints. Six bays of the original seven remain. The inconographic program of martyrdoms, unlike the angels presenting crowns, is unusual for the medium of stained glass. Series of apostles and martyrs were, of course, one of the staples of Gothic church decoration, in the glass medium being particularly well-suited to fill the regulated patterns of odd shapes provided by rose windows. The south rose of Notre-Dame, ca. 1260, contains rings of angels, apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins, encircling Christ and the Evangelist symbols, in a program which parallels that of the cathedral's portal sculpture. In his discussion of the rose, however, Jean Lafond[1] rightly underscores the very important point that the saints appear there as single, standing devotional figures and not in scenes of their martyrdoms.

Isolated martyrdoms occasionally are included in tracery glazing,[2] sometimes illustrating the death-scenes of standing saints below, sometimes with little or no connection either to the subjects of the lancets or of other tracery lights. Tracery glass is usually of secondary importance in an ensemble, often filled with grisaille or diaper and probably the work of assistants. The program at Saint-Père is very unusual on several counts, not only because the tracery medallions are a highly coherent glazing series in their own right, but because the quality of the designs and of their execution is uniformly high. Furthermore, the martyrdoms are presented in tableaux-like scenes with sparse detail, almost as ideograms, rather than in the more loose, narrative manner common in stained glass medallions of the period.

---

[1] See: Jean Lafond, CVMA France I, p. 54 and n. 6.

[2] Note especially the martyrdoms included among the amorphous subjects of the clerestory tracery of St. Urbain-de-Troyes.

The subjects are as follows:

Bay 1: Annunciation and Nativity
Bay 2 (north): Crucifixion of Peter; Beheading of Paul
Bay 3 (south): Beheading of John the Baptist; Stoning of Stephen
Bay 4 (north): St. Lawrence on the grill; St. Vincent thrown into the sea

Bay 5 (south): Crucifixion of St. Andrew;
the second martyrdom is lost[1]
Bay 6 (north): St. Eustace in the burning bull;
St. Bartholomew being flayed

[Bay 7 (south): now blind]

X iconographic

The iconographic detail of each scene will be described in turn, and discussed briefly in reference to general French practice. It should be stated at the start, however, that the series contains several martyrdoms definitely not in the mainstream of French High Gothic iconographic practice. The presence of these, in addition to other factors--choice and conjunction of saints, the form of the quatrefoil medallion, and the spareness of the tableaux already noted--lead one to search for a possible model which the artist could have employed. The assumption is that such a model was, at least in ultimate influence, Anglo-Saxon.

---

[1] The quatrefoil contains a simple rosette design inserted during the ca. 1905 restorations. Photograph taken before restoration shown confused debris in the light (Arch. phot. 196396 B21641) (Pl. 15b).

Two types of ecclesiastical objects have emerged in the author's research which fulfill many of the prerequisites of such a hypothetical model.[1] Since both hypotheses present themselves with about equal vigor, both will be described preceding the discussion of the medallions themselves, in order that the reader may follow the evidence. An attempt will be made at the end of the chapter to synthesize this evidence and evaluate type, date and origin of a possible model.

The first possibility is that of a northern psalter, particularly those of the Liège type. Psalters from this group,[2] which date from the second half thirteenth

Footnote 2

---

[1] Reliquaries were, because of their portability, considered in addition to the manuscripts and embroideries discussed. However, a search of all media (metalwork, enamel, ivory, etc.) failed to disclose a school of reliquaries exhibiting iconography similar to that of Saint-Père.

[2] For a discussion of the group of five known copies, see Joseph Brassinne, *Psautier liègois du XIIIe siècle*, Bruxelles, (1923), p. 7; and Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908 catalog, pp. 57, 68-69. One of the earliest extant manuscripts would seem to be Liège, Bibl. de l'Université 431, dated 1255-60; and the latest, several manuscripts of ca. 1300 (Pierpont Morgan ms. 27 and one in the collection of C.H.St.John Hornby, no. 126 of the Burlington 1908 catalog).

century, were copied by the Béguins from a mid-twelfth century psalter of Lambert le Bègue, the reorganizer of their order, a circumstance which explains the retention of earlier iconographic forms in many cases. The Liègois psalters (see pls. 147 and 148) have illuminated folios composed of four main scenes (often from the Infancy or Passion cycles), surrounded by six medallions of saints' martyrdoms, depicted in the same emblematic fashion notable at Saint-Père. Specific folios will be discussed throughout and at the end of the chapter.

An alternative hypothetical source suggests itself just as strongly for consideration. A small group of copes produced in eastern France from the third quarter thirteenth century present roundels or quatrefoils filled with saints' martyrdoms and Infancy scenes, and often include angels bearing crowns. The technique and very probably much of the iconographic detail of this group were absorbed from opus _anglicanum_, of which the French copes are early continental imitations. The Uppsala cope of ca. 1270[1] (Pl. 142) is a well-preserved example of the

---

[1] Uppsala cathedral treasury, new identified as the cope of Archbishop Fulco, brought from Lyons in 1274. Agnes Geijer, in correspondence Feb. 1967, suggests that it was not made at Lyons; she gives Paris as a tentative alternative (impossible, however, on iconographic grounds). See: Agnes Geijer, _Textile Treasures of Uppsala Cathedral_, Stockholm, 1964, pl. 4/5, pp. 23-25 (no. 1); A. Christie, _English Medieval Embroidery_, Oxford, 1938, pp. 79-81 (no.45) and pls. XXXII-XXXV; Agnes Branting and Andreas Lindblom, _Medieval Embroideries and Textiles in Sweden_, Uppsala, 1932, pp. 89ff. and 144, pls. 126-28.

Fulco

type, and an equally impressive example, discovered in 1963, is now in the treasury of the Cathedral of Troyes (pl. 146).[1] Not only are similar subjects presented in a similar framework, but they are shown in similarly abbreviated tableaux.

The missing link is, however, still missing. Because the above are only the most likely of tentative sources, I have tried to employ the following guide-lines: if the scene is typical of French High Gothic practice, there the matter shall rest. If not, but if it can be shown to resemble a panel among the narrative clerestories of Tours Cathedral, a monument with many affiliations to Saint-Père, the matter would again seem closed. If, however,

---

kilo

[1] The cope of Montiéramey, a village 20 kilometers east of Troyes. See: Canon Charles J. Ledit, "Le samit de Troyes" (pp. 2-6) and Marguerite Dubuisson, "La chape pontificale de Montiéramey," (pp. 7-14), and pls. 1-15, in *Zodiaque*, 67 (16ième année), Jan. 1966; Jean Taralon, *Les Trésors des églises de France* (Musée des Arts Décoratifs), Paris, 1965, 2nd ed., p. 92 and pl. 157. As yet the Troyes cope has not been published in a scholarly study, but it clearly represents the same type as the Eastern French group delineated by Christie (Uppsala cope, Halberstadt cope-fragment, Vienna fragment, etc.).

8
262

the scene is not to be so easily confirmed in its particulars, I have included sources of northern and English origin or influence where found, both within the psalter-- and cope--groups referred to above, and without.

Bay 1: The Annunciation of Bay 1 (pl. 13) appears in the customary classic simplicity of the thirteenth century. Mary and the Angel stand facing one another. The messenger gestures and the Virgin, holding a book, inclines her head. A chair fills the right lobe of the quatrefoil. The focus, dignity and lack of apocryphal clutter are typical of the period.

The Nativity, on the other hand, exemplifies an earlier iconographic type. The Virgin reclines in the foreground; Joseph sits to the right, gesturing. She is oblivious to the Child, who is swaddled and placed on an altar behind her, framed by the heads of an ox and an ass. The group is strongly reminiscent of the twelfth century west window of Chartres.[1] While most of these features, singly or in combination, lasted well into the thirteenth century, the presence of them all together in a work dating ca. 1300 is unusual and strongly suggests reliance on a model earlier in date (or in its source).

---

[1] Illustrated in Marcel Aubert, French Cathedral Windows of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, New York, 1939, pl. V. The window is dated ca. 1145. The draped bed is retained at Saint-Père.

Add to note →
The draped bed is retained at Saint-Père.

The combination of Infancy scenes such as these with saints' martyrdoms is found both in Liègois[1] and English[2] psalters and in the group of copes previously mentioned.[3]

Bay 2: Adjacent to the axial bay on the north are martyrdoms of the abbey's name-saint Peter and his companion Paul (pl. 14). St. Paul is kneeling on one knee in prayer. The executioner behind him places one hand on the saint's shoulder and, with the other, swings high his sword.

---

[1] Liège, Bibl. de l'Université, fol. 8v (pl. 147), contains four Infancy scenes (among them the Annunciation and Nativity) surrounded by six martyrdoms in medallions (including those of Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist and Peter-Martyr). Folios 9v, 10v and 11v show more martyrdoms in the same format.

[2] 13th c. psalter, Brit. Mus. Add. 28748 B, fol. 2r, contains two large medallions of the Nativity (top) and Annunciation (bottom) surrounded by a border of six scenes of martyrdom (including those of Stephen, Peter and Peter-Martyr). It is my surmise that the source of this conjunction of subjects, even in Liège psalters, is ultimately English.

[3] The cope-fragment of the Cathedral of Halberstadt, 3rd quarter 13th c., one of the Eastern French group (see Christie pl. XXXVI); the cope of Troyes, in which the Nativity is particularly close to that of Saint-Père (note Joseph's raised hand) [Zodiaque pl. 15, photographed on reverse side].

The scene is iconographically austere for ca. 1300. In France throughout the thirteenth century and even before, Paul was frequently shown blindfolded in reference to the episode of the veil of Plautilla, or with his head already severed, probably in reference to the story of the three miraculous springs.[1] The absence of such apocryphal detail, although not workable evidence for a specific source, certainly is atypical for the window's period.[2] French examples of a similar austerity date from a half-century or more earlier.[3]

Liègois

Psalters of the Liègois group,[4] however, continue to show Paul beheaded with the same economy. Neither is Paul blindfolded in the Uppsala cope.

---

[1] The latter type apparently derives ultimately from the frescoes of the porticus, basilica of St. Peter (see Cod. Barb. lat. 2733, fol. 138, illustrated in Josef Wilpert, *Die romischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten . . .*, Freiburg, 1917, text vol., fig. 140).

[2] French examples of Paul blindfolded: Poitiers Crucifixion window (ca. 1165); Bay 32, central apse, Chartres (Delaporte, Plates I, pl. LXXXVIII); thirteenth century sacristy window, Rouen (Ritter, pl. XXVI). Paul with head already severed: 1317 manuscript of the life of St. Denis, BN fr. 2090-92, II, fol. 64v. (illustrated in H. Martin, *Legende de Saint Denis*, 1905, pl. XXV). The late 13th c. English "Huth" psalter (Brit.Mus.Add. 38116, fol. 12v, illustrated in Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1908, pl. 42) also shows Paul blindfolded.

moyen

[3] See: Lyons window (1181-92) (illustrated in Lucien Bégule, *Les vitraux du moyen âge. . .dans la région lyonnaise*, Paris, 1911 fig. 14); ambulatory chapels of Troyes cathedral, ca. 1240's; early 13th c. latin Moralized Bible (Ile-de-France), Oxford, Bodleian, 270b, fol. 121v.

[4] Pierpont Morgan 183, fol. 12v (pl. 148) (late 13th c., probably executed for the Cathedral of St. Lambert); Liège, Bibl. de l'Université 431, fol. 8v (pl. 147).

The Crucifixion of Peter in the neighboring medallion of Bay 2 is a much greater and more engrossing puzzle. St. Peter, in a long robe, hangs upside-down on the cross. Two symmetrically positioned executioners nail his feet with claw-ended hammers. The left figure stands before the cross with his back to the spectator; the other is shown in profile straddling the crossbar.

Because the question of the gothic representation of the Crucifixion of Peter is such a complex one, I will attempt to outline the subject and its development briefly, and some of the issues involved, before placing the medallion of Bay 2 in context. The issue is a particularly pertinent one because at Saint-Père there are two Crucifixions of St. Peter, the one under discussion and another in Bay 22 of the nave (pl. 58), each of which partakes of a different tradition.

There are at least two variables in any representation of the scene: the medium of attachment to the cross, either cords or nails; and the positioning of the executioners, either symmetrically (usually standing and attaching the feet) or asymetrically (most commonly,

asym

one standing working on the feet and another, on the other side of the cross, crouching and affixing a hand). No religious text states whether Peter was tied or nailed to the cross. It is commonly stated by French authors that in thirteenth century France Peter was tied with cords,[1] and in the art forms of manuscript illumination and sculpture this is largely true. In glass, although cords are the more usual form, the statement cannot be applied so absolutely, as will be demonstrated below. Still, it is probably correct to say that the nailed crucifixion, by the High Gothic era, ultimately relies on a non-French tradition, wherever it occurs.

Before proceeding with a description of the situation in thirteenth century French windows, the origins of the scene should be investigated. Tony Sauvel, in an article in the *Bulletin monumental* in 1938,[2] organized

---

[1] Emile Mâle, *Les saints compagnons du Christ*, Paris, 1958, p. 107, states flatly that this was French practice. Louis Réau (*Iconographie de l'art Chrétien*, Paris, 1959, v.3, pt. 3, p. 1097), in surveying international medieval practice, draws the overly hasty conclusion that both nails and cords were used with no special national formulae evolving.

de l'a ch

[2] Tony Sauvel, "Le crucifiement de Saint Pierre," *Bulletin monumental*, v. 97, 1938, pp. 337-52.

267

examples into two traditions based on the symmetrical or asymetrical placement placement of executioners (regardless of whether they employ cords or nails and hammers). The latter, he believes, derives ultimately from the mosaics of the basilica of St. Peter in Rome (chapel of John VII, 705-07),[1] and appears in early medieval art in such works as the Sacramentary of Drogo.[2] Although M. Sauvel did not pursue matters so far, it can be said that this asymetrical type became the basis for German gothic representations and is found quite as universally there in the thirteenth century as the tied crucifixion is in France.

His symmetrical group--of which the medallion of Bay 2 of Saint-Père is a late example--he considers to be based on Anglo-Saxon models of the Romanesque period. The Benedictional of St. Aethelwold[3] is such a work, one which had a clear influence on the continental side of the channel, and he suggests that all symmetrical examples in France are ultimately based on such Anglo-Saxon, "barbaric" art (as opposed to Carolingian, "classical" art). He delineates two groups of twelfth century French sculpture, one in Languedoc[1] and the other in Aquitaine "under Queen Eleanor,"[2] which adhere to this basic placement. While his arguments concerning the transmission of the formula from Romanesque England to, say, Languedoc, are not completely persuasive, for our purposes it suffices to understand that in twelfth century Europe the two "nailed" traditions were centered in Germany (asymetrical) and the Anjou (symmetrical). The French High Gothic formula of a tied crucifixion seems to have almostly completely obliterated both types in the major arts in France.

---

[1] The saint was shown already having been nailed to the cross by one executioner. (Cod. Barb. lat. 2732, fol. 75 v., in Josef Wilpert, *Die römischen mosaiken und malereien der kirchlichen bauten*. . . ., Freiburg, 1917, text vol. p. 399, fig. 136). Cf. frescoes of porticus, Old St. Peter's (Cod. Barb. lat. 2733, fol. 137, in Wilpert, fig. 139), where Peter is shown, having been nailed to the cross, but no executioners are included. Italian art continued to omit the executioners.

[2] BN lat. 9428, fol. 86r. (illustrated in Sauvel, p. 341).

[3] Brit. Mus., Add. 49598.

to

asym

---

[1] This group differs from the Benedictional of St. Aethewold in that it depicts executioners nailing, while the manuscript shows executioners tying an already nailed Peter. Examples: (a) capital, cloister of Moissac, ca. 1100; (b) capital, Toulousan, from St. Pierre-des-Cuisines; (c) capital, church of Duravel (Lot). Sauvel, pp. 345ff.

[2] The Aquitaine group depicts executioners in the same placement (symmetrically), but in a less realistic, more symbolic manner. Examples: (a) tympanum reliefs, Aulnay-de-Saintonge; (b) relief, Pont-l'Abbé-d'Arnoult (Charente-Inf.) (both examples date 2nd half 12th c.)

In provincial schools and in less monumental media the nailed traditions seem to have resisted longer. Thus it is that the Burgundian windows in the first half of the thirteenth century reproduce the German type, a situation which will be discussed with Bay 22 of the nave, which also contains an example. And windows in the Angevin area in the twelfth century, and in the School of the West in the thirteenth, maintain the "Anglo-Saxon" tradition, culminating in the hemicycle medallion which is the ultimate subject of inquiry here.

The following windows in the west of France show Peter nailed to the cross by symmetrical executioners:

a) Poitiers, Crucifixion window (ca. 1165): four executioners, two crouching, one on each side, nailing the hands; two up on ladders, one on each side, nailing the feet.[1]

b) Angers, north choir, Bay 24 (Peter window), ca. 1225-35: one executioner stands left (on crossbar) nailing the feet; one stands right (on crossbar) nailing the feet.

---

[1] Sauvel (pp. 350-51) includes the Poitiers window with examples from Aquitaine, but remarks that it is very original.

Peter

c) Tours, choir clerestory, (Peter window), 1257-70's: one executioner stands left, nailing feet; one stands right, nailing feet.[1]

d) Saint-Père, hemicycle, Bay 2, ca. 1300: same placement as Tours.

I have been unable to find a psalter or other manuscript with a nailed crucifixion of the symmetrical type. The Uppsala cope (pl. 143) and the newly discovered one at Troyes (pl. 146), however, both contain exactly such a scene. It is most likely part of their heritage as opus anglicanum or the direct imitation thereof.

The medallion of Saint-Père, however, seems to be one of the few clear-cut examples in the church of a format passed on by the glazier himself from windows he knew in his medium. The window he remembered was very likely at Tours. Saint-Père is thus the final highly sophisticated version of a local southwestern variant of the scene in the glass medium, probably originating at Poitiers.

---

[1] Illustrated in: Ch. Bourassé and R. Manceau, Verrières du choeur de l'église métropolitaine de Tours, Tours, 1849, pl. X; Chanoine Henri Boissonot, Les Verrières de la Cathédrale de Tours, Paris, 1932, pl. VI (colored drawing).

Bay 3: Flanking the axial bay on the south are medallions of the Beheading of the Baptist and the Stoning of the protomartyr Stephen (pl. 17). In a representation which remained standard throughout the gothic era, St. John kneels before his prison while his executioner, sword in hand, grasps him by the hair.[1] In accordance with Mark VI;27 he is always beheaded before or in prison.

Stephen kneels praying while two flanking figures stand and stone him, one holding stones in a bag (or a fold of his garment?). The saint has a maniple over his arm, and one of the stones is "attached" to his head. All details were current by the thirteenth century, although the simplification of the angry crowd to two men and the inclusion of the maniple[2] became increasingly common in the second half of the century.

15 The "framing" design, that is, the inclusion of stoners on both sides of the saint, had a long history in

---

[1] In a few French 13th c. examples the executioner merely touches the saint's head. See: (a) Clermont-Ferrand window, St. John chapel (Du Ranquet, color drawing opp. p. 132); (b) Rouen cathedral, St. John chapel (Ritter, pl. II).

[2] A maniple is found (for the first time?) in the Huntingfield Psalter, Pierpont Morgan 43, fol. 28r (English, late 12th c. or ca. 1200). By the second half of the 13th c. it is a standard feature of French art.

all media and was maintained well into the fourteenth century.[1] It was more common to French thirteenth century sculpture[2] and stained glass[3] than to manuscripts, where the stoning group customarily appears to the left.[4]

Bay 4: Vincent and Lawrence, the two other deacon-martyrs who with Stephen enjoyed universal homage in the middle ages, are honored in the medallions of Bay 4 (pl. 18). St. Vincent, nude and weighted about the neck with a millstone, is being tossed from a sailboat by one of two figures therein. In the Tours clerestory the scene is shown in close detail, excepting only the sailless boat.[5]

---

[1] It remained viable even after the vogue of Pucelle's sophisticated variation.

[2] See: Chartres, south porch, martyrs' portal; tympana at Bourges, Notre-Dame de Paris, Mantes and Reims.

[3] See: Chartres, Bay 41 (north apse) (Delaporte, Plates II, pl.CXX) and Bay 170 (north nave) (Plates III, pl. CCLXXI).

[4] Flemish and German manuscripts occasionally maintain the "framing" stoners in the late thirteenth century. See, for example, antiphonary executed in 1290 for Cistercian convent in Beaupré (near Grammont, Belgium), Walters Art Gallery, ms. 757-60, III, fol. 125v (Eric George Millar, The Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts, Oxford, 1927-30, text vol. 2, esp. p. 101).

[5] Bourassé and Manceau, pl. XIV. One of the figures carries a pole. See also a window from St. Germain-des-Prés (for choir of Lady Chapel, 1244-55?), in the Walters Art (Philippe Verdier, Walters Art Gallery Bulletin, XIII, 1961, no. 5, fig. 23 (p. 61) and discussion). The saint is regularly shrouded in earlier examples (see: Bourges, window in chevet, St. Philomena Chapel, illustrated in Martin and Cahier, pl. XIV, and Clement and Guitard, pl. XIX. The earliest example known to the author of a shroudless Vincent is the late twelfth century bas-relief at Basle (illustrated in Joseph Gantner, Kunstgeschichte der Schweiz von den anfängen bis zum beginn des 20 jahrhunderts, Frauenfeld and Leipzig, 1936, v. 1, fig. 184).

with

A boat with sail of the Saint-Père type does appear at Tours, however, in the St. Eustace window of the same clerestory series.[1]

St. Lawrence lies nude, face up, on his grill, two men holding him and tormenting him with forked poles. The horizontal ladder-type grill[2] seen at Saint-Père was a long-lived and quite stable type found from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries.[3]

Two features of the medallion are unusual: the absence of a man or men working bellows, and the winged helmet of one of the executioners. Concerning the bellows-man, at least one such figure customarily participates in the scene during the thirteenth century, not only in

---

choir

[1] Bourassé and Manceau, pl. I. For another example, see Chartres, Bay 112, south choir clerestory (Delaporte, Plates III, pl. XXCC), in which the saint is shown already in the water.

[2] Chartres, Bay 121 (north nave clerestory) (Delaporte, Plates III, pl. CCLXXI); the saint is tied to the grill. See also the Troyes cope.

[3] Chartres Cathedral also contains two examples of the more unusual triangular grill, on pier I of the south porth and in Bay 47, north choir (Delaporte Plates II, pl. CXLI). A variant of the triangular type at Bourges (St. Philomena Chapel) supports the saint tied face downward (Clement and Guitard, pl. XVII). Could this medallion be misplaced from the Vincent window in the same chapel? Vincent is the saint usually grilled on his stomach. Cf. martyrdom of St. Vincent panel from Saint-Denis (illustrated in VF, p. 94).

France but throughout northern European art.[1] His omission at Saint-Père probably was not caused by cramped quarters--a tiny bellowsman is included in the equally crowded Eustace martyrdom of Bay 6--but by imitation of a model without a bellowsman.

No bellowsman is included in the scene in Angers Cathedral (ca. 1230-35)[2] or in the Halberstadt cope-fragment,[3] although one is shown on the Troyes cope. An early English example is the twelfth century font at Cottam (Yorkshire).

The winged helmet, on the other hand, seems clearly to be of ultimately English origin. I have found two other examples of such an unusual helmet, both from the early

---

[1] The motif appears as early as Moissac in France (cloister, Gall. D, capital 6, illustrated in: Meyer Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," Art Bulletin, v. 13, 1931, fig. 51, p. 306).

Schapiro

[2] Jane Hayward and Louis Grodecki, "Les vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers," Bulletin monumental v. 124, Jan.-Mar. 1966, fig. on p. 40.

[3] Christie pl. XXXVI and p. 81. The Uppsala cope (pl. 144) has a worn spot where a small bellowsman might have been shown (or might not have). A cope influenced by the Eastern French school on a similar roundel design but worked in opus theotonicum, the Hildesheim cope (Victoria and Albert Museum), also includes the scene without bellowsman, as well as Stephen stoned by framing executioners and Peter nailed in the Germanic, asymetrical format. Louis de Farcy, La Broderie, Angers, 1890, v. 2, pl. 20.

assym

fourteenth century and both of English origin or influence. One is the famous Queen Mary Psalter[1] and the other an embroidered hanging (*opus anglicanum*) from the church at Harlebeke, Belgium.[2] The winged helmet thus could be another clue to an ultimately English source for the martyrdom cycle.

Bay 5: Of the two martyrdoms of Bay 5 only the crucifixion of St. Andrew remains (pl. 19).[3] The saint, in a long robe, is being tied to a horizontally placed latin cross by two executioners standing behind it.[4] They turn their backs slightly to one another as one ties the saint's feet and the other his upper hand, both employing some sort of tightening tool.

---

[1] Brit. Mus., Roy 2B VII, fols. 240r, 253r, 261r, etc.

[2] Brussels, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (illustrated in Louis de Farcy, *La Broderie*, v. 2, pl. 39 (top right). M. Crick-Kantziger ("Nouvelles installations. . .," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire de Belgique*, v. 17, 1945, pp. 92-93) believes the Harlebeke hanging to be *opus anglicanum*. By the early 14th c., however, good imitations of *opus anglicanum* were being produced in Europe.

[3] Speculation on the identity of the lost saint of Bay 5 and the two lost from Bay 7 is pointless. Popular martyrs of the medieval church not found now at Saint-Père include Sebastian, George, Christopher and Blaise.

[4] The medallion is mounted incorrectly in the photomontage of Bay 5 in the Archives Photographiques (pl. 19), with Andrew upside-down and the executioners wide-ways. It is correctly placed in the church itself.

In the thirteenth century little conformity had been reached concerning the details of Andrew's crucifixion, the cross being shown sometimes upright,[1] upside-down,[2] horizontal as at Saint-Père, sloping at an oblique angle,[3] or even occasionally as the saltire-cross which was to assume the saint's name.[4]

√ comma

---

[1] Italian art maintains the upright cross throughout the medieval period.

[2] The upside-down cross, found rarely in French 13th and 14th c. manuscripts, occurs in the Menologium manuscript in Jerusalem, Lib. Greek Patriarchs, Saba 208, fol. 91r (11-12th c.).

[3] The "oblique" cross seems to have been a short-lived variant introduced in the 14th c. at the time when the search for distinctive attribute also began to popularize the saltire cross. The "oblique" cross occurs in an early 14th c. breviary executed for the monastery of S. Vaast of Arras (Arras, Bibl. de la ville, ms. 729, I, fol. 12r) (illustrated in: Georg Vitzthum von Eckstädt, *Die Pariser miniaturmalerei,* Leipzig, 1907, pl. XXIX); and in the 14th c. have windows of the Florentius Church in Niederhaslach (Bas-Rhin).

[4] Iconographers commonly date the introduction of the saltire (i.e., transverse or "St. Andrew") cross in the late 14th or the 15th c. It is much more ancient. 14th c. examples outside France are numerous. With rare exceptions the saltire cross does appear to have been unknown in the Ile-de-France until quite late (exceptions: (a) 1300-20 manuscript of *Legende dorée* , BN fr. 183; (b) missal from the Sainte-Chapelle, end of 13th c. (Lyons, Bibl. de la ville, ms. 5122, fol. 208r); (c) Mantes, saint's attribute on archivolt of right portal, late 13-14th c.) Not so in eastern France, where examples from the second half thirteenth century occur at Lyons (apse clerestory window, illustrated in Lucien Bégule, *Les Vitraux du moyen âge. . .dans la région lyonnaise. . .*, Paris, 1911, fig. 58);

In the major High Gothic monuments of France the upright latin cross was the rule. In other mediums than sculpture the horizontal cross was only slightly less common in the thirteenth century.[1] The high number of

---

at Saint-Urbain de Troyes (Bay I, clerestory, tracery rondel); and in the archvolts of Auxerre (central portal, illustrated in Paul Deschamps, *La Cathédrale d'Auxerre*, (Paris), Editions "Tel," (1948), fig. 4). Evidence indicates an origin in Scotland and probable dissemination via pilgrimage badges. In the Edinburgh National Museum is the stone mold for a pilgrim's badge of very primitive design (from cemetery of St. Andrew's Church, North Berwick, East Lothian); the saltire cross appears next in the 12th c. in Yorkshire (font of Cottam Church, East Riding, illustrated--and incorrectly identified--in John Piper, "England's Early Sculptors," *Architectural Revue* (England), v. 80, 1936, pl. II opp. p. 160); it appears in the second half 13th c. in Winchester (fresco, chapel of John the Baptist, north aisle) and Oxford (Merton College chapel, window). The motif apparently crossed the channel on threads of *opus anglicanum*, although only circumstantial proof for this theory exists: (a) cope fragment, Steeple Aston Church, early 14th c. (Christie, pls. CXIV, CXVI-CXVIII, fig. 134); (b) South-eastern Flanders: late *opus anglicanum* orphrey vestments from Harlebeke, Belgium (near Courtrai), now in Brussels Musée des arts décoratifs (illus. in Christie, pl. CXLV). See also antiphonary from Beaupré (Schoonwert, near Grammont, Belgium) dated 1290 (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, mss. 757-760, II, fol. 185r).

[1] See, for example, Troyes window, ca. 1225-35 (ambulatory chapel). On the topic of Andrew's horizontal cross, see: Jean Lafond, "Le Vitrail en Normandie de 1250 à 1300," *Bulletin monumental*, v. III, 1953, p. 345 (note carried from preceding page); and Emile Mâle, "Histoire et légende de l'apôtre saint André dans l'art," *Revue des deux-mondes*, Oct. 1951, pp. 412-20, esp. p. 415.

examples of Benedictine origin, as well as the possible existence of the horizontal motif in an early psalter from Cîteaux itself[1] are an indication that the horizontal cross possibly may have sprung from such a monastic source. By the thirteenth century, however, it had spread beyond the orders and had undergone several variations. A number of set formats can be traced, notably a design with single executioner standing behind the cross (Liège psalter),[2] a design with executioners shown rather awkwardly crouching both above and below the saint's body (Troyes cope)[3] (pl. 146), and the more sophisticated arrangement which appears at Saint-Père, in which two standing executioners turn their backs to one another.

---

[1] The reference to the psalter from Cîteaux is from Réau, v. 3, pt. 1, p. 79, who dates it 11th c. I have been unable to identify the manuscript further, and as there was, of course, no Cîteaux until the early years of the 12th c., the reference is suspect.

[2] Pierpont Morgan 183, fol. 12 v (pl. 148). See also: breviary of second half 13th c., probably given to the Abbey of Tennenbach (Lucerne, Kantonsbibl., PMsc.4, fol. 228v).

[3] Examples in stained glass: Chartres, Bay 33, central apse (Delaporte, Plates I, pl. XCI); Tours, ca. 1245 (illustrated in VF, p. 157); Angers, Bay 9, debris (one figure crouches below head, one above feet, three others standing?); Evreux, second half 13th c. (illustrated in Lafond, "Vitrail en Normandie," fig. opp. p. 344). It also appears in several Cistercian manuscripts (Besançon, Bibl. mun. ms. 54, fol. 22r, ca. 1260; Laon, Bibl. communale ms. 232, fol. 40r, late 13th c.) and in the Psalter of Isabelle de France (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam, fol. 200v).

Examples notably similar to Saint-Père include two Benedictine breviaries of contemporary date[1] and the identical design found in the Uppsala cope (pl. 145).

Bay 6: Bay 6 honors Sts. Eustace and Bartholomew (pl. 20). Eustace and his wife and two children are lined up nude in the bronze bull of their martyrdom, below which is a tiny figure working bellows. The cult of Eustace in France was inaugurated in the twelfth century by the translation of his relics to Saint-Denis, and was popularized later by the Golden Legend. His martyrdom occurs frequently in thirteenth century windows and sculpture. The grouping of the scene most probably stems originally from Greek manuscripts of the Menologium of Basil, where the family is clothed and the children stand in front of their parents.[1] The late twelfth century window at Sens repeats the Greek formula. By the end of the thirteenth century several changes had been standardized: the family was shown nude and was lined up in a row, and executioners working bellows as well as a tyrant were often included. The two representations at Chartres, which differ in detail, illustrate the state of flux of the iconography in the early thirteenth century. On the south porch (west side of pier I) the family is shown nude and a man works bellows to the right, but the parents still stand behind the children.[2] In window 62 (north nave) the clothed family is seated side by side, two men tending bellows and two others grasping Eustace,[3] like the two men flanking Eustace at Sens.

---

[1] Cluniac breviary (ca. 1300, probably Parisian) in Andrew Lang collection, London (illustrated in Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908 catalog, pl. 84 (#127) and p. 58); Benedictine breviary from Cambrai, abbey of St. Sépulchre (Cambrai, Bibl. de la ville, ms. 102-103, fol. 354r) dated 1295-96 (see Lilian Randall, "The Fieschi Psalter," Walters Art Gallery Journal, v. 23, 1960, p. 34, for discussion and dating).

---

[1] See: Bibl. Vaticana, gr. 1613, p. 53 (dated 976-1025) and Brit. Mus., Add. 11870, fol. 151r (11th-12th c.).

[2] Etienne Houvet, La Cathédrale de Chartres, Chelles, 1919, v. 4 (Portail sud), pt. 2, pl. 67.

[3] Delaporte Plates II, pl. CLXXIV.

After 1250 the group usually appears much as it does at Saint-Père. The Tours clerestory contains such an example,[1] and an even closer group is found in a relief of the first half fourteenth century from the abbey of Saint-Denis.[2]

The flaying of Bartholomew, shown in the other quatrefoil of Bay 6, achieved no such standardization of format.[3] In the Saint-Père medallion the saint is shown nude, face up, on a table or trestle, two executioners standing behind him and working on his limbs with knives. The scene is misidentified in most current guidebooks and in the Archives Photographiques.[4] Although the scene is less explicit than was often the case, the presence of a

---

[1] Bourassé and Manceau, pl. I. The nude family is shown in a bunch. A tyrant and executioners appear in the adjacent medallion.

[2] Cluny Museum (illustrated in Le Musée de Cluny, photocollographie de Chène et Longuet, Paris, (1895-97), v.1, pl. 39 (top). A standing tyrant and a bellowsman are included.

[3] This is strange considering that Bartholomew's knife was one of the most stable apostles' attributes and one of the earliest to emerge.

[4] The photomontage of Bay 6 (59 N-320 19561) (pl. 20) is labeled "St. Apollinaire sur le chevalet." Most guidebooks rely on Bulteau, p. 297.

282

second darkened left arm below the first identifies it with certainty as the flaying of Bartholomew.

Bartholomew, seated or tied to a column in Byzantine and early German art, sometimes standing in Italian examples, was usually shown reclining in France, Flanders and England. He reclines either on the ground, on a sloping stretcher, or on a table of some sort. The most coherent iconographic group, which includes the Uppsala and Troyes copes and other objects of English influence[1] as well as three Moralized Bibles of French origin,[2] shows Bartholomew on the ground, looking very much like an octopus with various limbs doubled and going in all directions.

---

[1] Examples: (a) late 13th c. psalter, Brit. Mus., Add. 21926, fol. 11v (Exeter?); (b) vestment of ca. 1300, in S. Giovanni in Laterano, Rome (includes St. Edmund of England and St. Andrew on saltire cross, likely English iconography for the date); (c) opus anglicanum fabric of early 14th c. from Harlebeke, in Brussels, Musée des Arts Décoratifs; (d) English alabaster relief, ca. 1400, Ashmolean Museum.

[2] (a) Moralized Bible, 1st half 13th c., from St. Germain-des-Prés library, BN lat. 11560, fol. 95v; (b) Moralized Bible of 13-14th c., in French dialect of eastern Champagne, Vienna, Nat.-Bibliothek 2554, fol. 27r; (c) Moralized Bible of early 14th c., BN fr. 9561, fol. 78v.

The martyr is shown at Saint-Père, however, on a trestle. The search for similar trestles leads straight to the Liège psalter group, where however, Bartholomew wears a checkered loincloth.[1] Examples of trestle with nude saint, as at Saint-Père, occur somewhat surprisingly, in south and west Germany[2] during the thirteenth century and in England[3] during the fourteenth. Such inconclusive evidence, alas!, proves only that the type is not French _au fond_.

---

[1] (a) Pierpont Morgan 183, fol. 12v. (b) Liège, Bibl. de l'Université 431, fol. 10v, dated 1255-60 (illustrated in Brassine, pl. 16).

[2] (a) "Psalter of S. Elizabeth," a psalter dated 1200-17 and probably executed for Herman, Count of Thuringia, perhaps in the monastery of Reinharsbrun, Mainz (Cividale, Mus. Archeologico CXXXVII, fol. 5r; see Italia, Ministero della pubblica istruzione, _Mostra storica nazionale della miniatura, Palazzo di Venezia, Roma, catalogo_, 2nd ed., 1954, pp. 109-10, #152); (b) breviary from Regensburg, 2nd half 13th c., in Maihingen, Bibliothek des Fürsten Oettingen-Wallerstein I.2.8°6, fol. 98r (illustrated in Hans Swarzenski, pl. 55, no. 317); (c) window n. II from St. Dionys church, Esslingen, near Stuttgart, ca. 1300 (CVMA Deutschland I, pl. 86).

[3] (a) Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. D.4.2, fol. 72v (13-14th c.); (b) Luttrell Psalter, Brit. Mus., Add. 42130, fol. 107r (ca. 1340) (illustrated in Eric George Millar, _The Luttrell Psalter_, London, 1932, pl. 40c.

One hesitates to make judgments where many links of evidence are obviously missing. A number of the martyrdoms of Saint-Père take forms similar to those in the Tours glazing or in other High Gothic monuments (Annunciation, John the Baptist, Stephen, Vincent, Eustace). A disturbing handful, on the other hand, do not. The Nativity and the martyrdom of Paul are shown in earlier formats, which had been superceded by ca. 1300 by newer types in French art. The martyrdoms of Lawrence and Andrew contain irregular details not in the mainstream of iconographic usage. The Bartholomew medallion is the most clearly non-French of the series.

Much more significant, however, is the program itself. The combination of angels with crowns, the Annunciation and Nativity and saints' martyrdoms is strongly suggestive of a medium other than stained glass. Not only the program, however, indicates this, but the economical and concentrated, almost emblematic, form of the scenes. The Tours and Angers medallions which have been referred to in comparison, in all cases include the usual auxiliary figures (such as crowned, enthroned tyrants observing, extra executioners and the like).

~~31~~
285

In the beginning of the chapter, it was suggested that two types of ecclesiastical objects which also depict a similar conjunction of subjects in similar abbreviated form, were, (a) psalters of the second half of the thirteenth century of the Liège group, and (b) copes of roundel or medallion design executed around Verdun or Lyons from the third quarter of the thirteenth century on, in a technique imitating opus anglicanum. As has been demonstrated in the study of individual scenes, the variables of the Saint-Père martyrdoms sometimes identify with one of these suggested sources and sometimes with another.

Thus, the Liège psalters couple four main scenes from the life of Christ within a border decorated by six medallions of martyrdoms. On fol. 8v of one of the earliest, the psalter-hours of Liège University (Bibl. de l'Univ. 431) (pl. 147), the Annunciation and Nativity plus two other Infancy scenes are surrounded by martyrdoms including those of Peter (tied), Paul and John the Baptist. Fol. 10v shows four scenes (including a Crucifixion with Mary and John like the one at Saint-Père, Bay 1, upper left lancet) encircled by medallions including the martyrdoms of Bartholomew (trestle and checkered loincloth) and Lawrence (bellowsman). Another liègois manuscript, Pierpont Morgan 183, shows on fol. 9v the Annunciation, Visitation and Nativity surrounded by medallions of female saints; on fol. 11v, martyrdoms of Lawrence, Stephen and others surround other Infancy scenes; and on fol. 12v (pl. 148), four scenes of the life of Christ are bordered by martyrdoms of the Baptist, Peter (tied), Paul, Bartholomew (trestle and checkered loincloth) and Andrew (horizontal but only one executioner).

Copes of the eastern French group also combine Infancy and Passion scenes with martyrdoms, including as well many forms of angels, among them the ange porte-couronnes (Uppsala cope, pl. 142). All scenes are depicted in simplified, tableaux-like forms which befit the medium. The postures, numbers of angels, and occasional facial types are English, but many French saints are included[1] and the workmanship is French. The Uppsala cope, an early and well-preserved example of the school, contains thirty medallions of martyrdoms including those of Peter (nailed with symmetrical executioners), Paul, John the Baptist, Stephen

---

[1] Among the French saints are Clement and Denis (cf. Saint-Père Bay 23), Martin of Tours, Nicasius of Reims, Leodegarius of Autun, and Eleutherius of Paris.

(one executioner), Lawrence, Andrew and Bartholomew (on the ground) as well as the repeated motif of an angel holding two crowns. The Halberstadt cope-fragment of the same school contains, in addition to martyrdoms and angels, scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin. Angels and martyrdoms comprise the four remaining roundels of another fragment in Vienna (Museum für Kunst und Industrie).[1] The newly discovered Montiéramey cope in the treasury of Troyes Cathedral (pl. 146) is formed of forty-nine quatrefoils of the same subjects--angels, Infancy scenes and martyrdoms.[2]

The theoretical sources just outlined are merely suggested as the more likely of possible models. The martyrdom series of the Saint-Père hemicycle is atypical for its medium, for its date and for its location high up in the clerestory. It is atypical precisely because it is a more closely-knit, coherent series in subject matter than is customary in tracery lights of clerestories,

more

---

[1] Christie, pl. XXXVII and p. 83.

[2] Although Taralon seems to indicate that the Troyes cope could be English work (Trésors, p. 92), the saints included are clearly French: Denis, Eustace, Blaise, Léger. It is probably a case, like that of the Uppsala cope, of French imitation of English workmanship (even the faces have an English cast to the features). (See Zodiaque, p. 1 - the only illustration of the front of the cope, which is damaged,

of any date but particularly of transitional or fourteenth century glass ensembles. The artist has united, by subject matter, the tracery lights across all the hemicycle windows. The effect achieved inconographically is therefore, in a general sense, similar to that often achieved in glass of the same period by stylistic means: i.e., a horizontal "banding" which reads across (parts of) several windows, thereby breaking up the internal unity within the bay which was more typical of the earlier period. Tracery lights (and particularly those under the high vaulting of the church) were not ordinarily considered important enough for such a full treatment; in fact, they are often filled with grisailles or isolated subjects by lesser craftsmen. In sum, Saint-Père is, inexplicably, a carefully organized and precisely, even tightly drawn set of images particularly unsuited for its position in the uppermost lights of a very tall chevet. It is not, in a phrase, a glaziers' "solution," as a comparison to the Parisian narrative windows of the Tours clerestory underlines without doubt.

Aside from the few scenes which exhibit clear iconographic characteristics of Tours, the exact antecedents of the Saint-Père series have probably perished with the centuries. What remains is meagre but undeniable evidence of a strong guiding spirit, a skillful artist and a model of foreign influence.

290

CHAPTER X

NAVE: STANDING FIGURES--ICONOGRAPHY

Of the twelve windows of the nave six have large standing saints, arranged four to a window. The iconographic organization is fairly rigid, apostles taking their places in the three northern bays (Bays 20, 24 and 28) and abbots (Bay 29), bishops (Bay 25) and popes (Bay 21) in the windows on the south. Many of the figures retain inscriptions and the apostles bear attributes as well.

Precisely the same transitional uncertainty that was evidenced in the series in the hemicycle is found among the nave apostles. The artist's (or iconographer's) intentions, however, are clearer in the nave, where both attributes and beautiful Lombardic name-inscriptions are lavished on the apostle group. The confusions are therefore the more evident. Whereas one can only guess about the artist's plan in the hemicycle, inscriptions in the nave make the program clearly evident, and the success or failure of its execution easily gauged.

The twelve apostle-figures are as follows (top to bottom, left lancet first):

Bay 20: PHELIPPE, THOMAS, JACOBVS, MACIEV (Pl. 54).

They carry, at present, a pike, bare sword,[1] ax and sheathed sword. It seems highly probable that the upper two figures (Philip and James) have been interchanged with the lower two (Thomas and Matthew).[2] If so, the attributes originally would have been: Philip with a bare sword, Thomas with a lance or pike, James with a sheathed sword, and Matthew with an ax--all quite standard for the thirteenth century, only Matthew's ax being slightly precocious. The most likely period of an accidental interchange of panels was the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century at the time when, in the course of restoration, this bay and Bay 21 opposite (Pl. 57) were 'improved' by having their colored diaper framing panels (still visible at the tops of the lancets) replaced with clear glass.[1]

---

[1] The bare sword is difficult to see, and is often described in guidebooks as a T-square. See, for example: Jean Villette, Chartres, Chartres, 1948, p. 38; Bulteau, p. 294; Clerval (5th ed.), p. 198; Mâle, L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France, Paris, 1919, p. 365 (chart).

[2] The figure panels would be interchangeable but not the inscription panels, the designs of which vary between the upper and lower rows.

Bay 24: IOHANNES EVANGELISTE, ANDREAS, JACOBVS, BARTHOLOMEVS (Pl. 68). John with a palm,[2] Andrew with a latin cross, James with a club, Bartholomew with a knife. Andrew's cross and Bartholomew's knife were among the earliest attributes to be defined. The latin form of the cross follows customary thirteenth century French practice. The palm of paradise was a shortlived attribute of John, uncommon at the turn of the fourteenth century. The source is clearly Pseudo-Melito, 'De Transitu Beatae Mariae,' an apocryphal legend of the Virgin's Assumption, in which John carries the palm given to her at the annunciation of her death.[3]

---

[1] The diaper was there untouched in 1672, when it was described by Dom Aubert (ch. 90). It was undoubtedly gone by the 19th c., notwithstanding Guérard (Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres, Paris, 1840, v. 1, p. cclij) who probably drew his information from the Dom Aubert manuscript rather than from observations in situ. Bulteau (1850, p. 293) and Poisson (1857, p. 423) both describe Bays 20 and 21 without diaper.

[2] It has been described erroneously in guidebooks as a pen because of its small size (see Bulteau, p. 294; Clerval (5th ed.), p. 198).

[3] The palm is also found in the hemicycle of Saint-Père, Bays 2 and 5 (Pls. 14 and 19). See discussion in Chapter VIII.

The club was common to James Lesser and to Judas Thaddeus, but on rare occasions given to James Major, probably in confusion with his more usual (for ca. 1300) pilgrim's staff. Which saint is here intended? Undoubtedly the latter, as the window has a border of shells in both lancets.[1]

Bay 28: MATHIAS, JACO_VS MINO_,[2] IVDAS, BARNABAS (Pl. 81).

Matthias holds a bare sword by the point, James Lesser holds a staff, Judas holds a rope, and Barnabas has a yellow flame. This window is by far the most interesting of the series for the study of attributes 'in the making,' as it contains apostles who were less well-known and not so frequently represented. Matthias, the apostle called to replace the Lord's

---

[1] See VF, color Pl. XVII.

[2] This inscription was almost illegible to the spectator in the 19th c. Poisson (p. 419) omitted it; he describes Matthias and Barnabas in place, lists the figure in James Lesser's place as 'probably S. Jude' and refers to the figure in Judas' position simply as 'another apostle.' Were Judas and James Lesser interchanged? The inscriptions must have been mutilated in any case. Note that in this Bay the inscriptions occur near the saint's head, not above it as in Bay 20 and elsewhere. Thus, even if the figures were out-of-place, their names would not be scrambled.

294

betrayer in the original twelve, customarily relinquishes his place in medieval series to Paul. His attribute never really crystalized, and he can be found holding an ax, halberd, lance and sword. James Lesser is holding the staff which, by the late thirteenth century, was becoming one of the common pilgrim attributes of James Major.[1] Undoubtedly confused by the shifting iconography of his time the Saint-Père artist has provided in the nave a full complement of Jameses: a James with sheathed sword in Bay 20 (Pl. 54) (early thirteenth century attribute); a James with club, in a border of shells, in Bay 24 (Pl. 68) (the club being the developing attribute throughout the thirteenth century for James Lesser); and a James Lesser in Bay 28 (Pl. 81) holding the staff which was coming into vogue as part of the pilgrim's garb which James Major had adopted by the final decades of the thirteenth century.

---

[1] See: Bourges apostles series; panels from the chapel of Château de Rouen (ca. 1260-70), in Cluny Museum (St. James has a pilgrim's hat and staff, and shells are set into the ground).

Barnabas was, like Matthias, a rarity in apostle circles. Not a member of the original twelve but attached to them as a kind of deputy, he suffered martyrdom by stoning and being burned. His attribute in the Bourges and Chartres[1] clerestories is merely a book; in the fourteenth century he occasionally carried stones.[2] Reference to fire or flames is more unusual.[3] A specialty of the later Western school of glasspainting, Barnabas with a flame is found at Vendôme (Pl. 131) and Evron (Pl. 134) as well as twice in Saint-Père.[4] It occurs later in Normandy, at Saint-Ouen de Rouen (ca. 1325ff.).[5] The local popularity of Barnabas is difficult to account for, and his flame may even have been a happy invention of the Saint-Père artist or iconographer, based on a text such as Voragine.

---

[1] For illustration of Chartres see Delaporte, Plates v. III, pl. CCLII.

[2] Barnabas with a stone: brass of Albrecht Hövener, 1357, Nikolaus church in Stralsund; brass of Burkhard von Serken in Lübeck Cathedral, c. 1350; trecento panel (Florentine school?), Vatican Pinacoteca storeroom (see P. d'Achiardi, *I quadri primitivi della Pinacoteca Vaticana*. . . , Rome, 1929, pl. CXXVII).

[3] See discussion Chapter VIII.

[4] See Chapter V.

[5] See footnote 1, p. 296 infra.

✓

p. 296

The Judas with a rope is perhaps another invention, and a more startling one. The attribute is very unusual, one can say almost unique. The clerestories of Saint-Ouen de Rouen include a St. Mark holding a rope, the only other known example of this attribute.[1] There is textual basis for the latter, as, before his martyrdom, the evangelist was dragged through the streets of Alexandria by a rope around his neck.[2] Judas Thaddeus, on the other hand, had no connection to rope and is never shown with one. Who is it, then?

CAPS 'IVDAS' →

Stunning as this may seem, the '**IVDAS**' in the Saint-Père nave is probably Judas

---

[1] See Lafond, in Lefrançois-Pillion *XIV*, p. 198 and p. 232, fn. 20, where he suggests, on the evidence of Saint-Père, that the 'S. Marcvs' inscription is probably misplaced and the saint really Jude. Saint-Ouen and Saint-Père, both influential Benedictine abbeys in the middle ages, maintained a relationship of fraternity and association in prayer during the thirteenth century. See Brossier-Géray, "Le Rouleau mortuaire de Guy Ier, Abbé de Saint-Père de Chartres, 1231," *Bulletin de la Société Dunoise*, v. 3, 1875-80, pp. 236-37, which states that Saint-Ouen was among the abbeys entered in the mortuary roll of Guy I (abbot of Saint-Père 1200-31). Saint-Ouen also includes another rare attribute found otherwise only in glass of the School of the West, the Barnabas holding a flame (see discussion supra).

[2] Maurice and Wilfred Drake, *Saints and Their Emblems* London, 1916, p. 83, lists examples of St. Mark dragged by the neck (Der Heyl. Leb.) and strangled (Primer. Cat. Sanct. Lambrecht, 1516).

Iscariot. Judas Iscariot was hanged by a rope, and the scene of his hanging (Matthew, XXVII:5, Acts I:18) was enormously popular in medieval art.[1] The insignia later became crystalized in at least two Italian manuscripts of the fourteenth century in which Judas, at the knees of the personification Hope (Spea), appears with a piece of rope around his neck.[2]

---

[1] 13th c. examples of Judas Hanged: a) Moralized Bible, BN lat. 11560, fols. 4r, 51v, 221v (1st half 13th c.); b) Bible of Bredelar (1238-41), Darmstadt Landesbibliothek Hs. 824, 825 (Hans Swarzenski, pl. 30 (#177); c) psalter, Liege, Bibl. de l'Université 431, fol. 167r (2nd half 13th c.); d) Reims cathedral, west front, archivolts of left portal; e) Rouen, tympanum of south portal (late 13th c.); f) Freiburg cathedral narthex (13-14th c.); g) psalter (ca. 1295-1304), Cambrai, ms. 102-103; h) Fieschi psalter, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, ms. 45, illustration for Psalm 51 (see illustration in Lilian Randall, "The Fieschi Psalter," *Walters Art Gallery Journal*, v. 23, 1960, p. 36 and fig. 5); i) ivory diptych, Amiens, Bibl. de la ville, 13-14th c.; j) ivory diptych, Paris, coll. Dormeuil (13-14th c.). Fourteenth century examples are numerous in almost all media.

[2] Judas with a rope around his neck, at the feet of Hope: a) Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, B. 42 inf., Giovanni d'Andrea, Novella in libros Decretalium, fol. 1r (dated 1354, miniatures painted by Niccolò da Bologna) (illustrated in: Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Trésors des bibliothèques d'Italie IVe--XVIe siècles*, Paris, 1950, pl. 10 (no. 108); b) Vienna, Nat.-Bibl., Ser. Nov. 2639, Convenevoli de Pratis?, Poemata, fol. 2r (14th c.).

p[298] ✱
Redo
with
inscriptions
in caps?

The confusion of Judas Iscariot with Judas Thaddeus was probably not unknown in early gothic art, as was the confusion concerning the identity, as a single individual, of the duo-named Judas Thaddeus. The simplest proof of the latter issue is the occasional practice of including both a 'Judas' figure and a 'Thaddeus' figure in apostle groups, the former often being the one accompanying Simon.[1] Choosing only from apostle groups in media where inscriptions were used at an early date (i.e., ivories, reliquaries, embroideries) it is possible to cite the following list where the two names (usually rendered as Ivdas and Thadevs) are born by two separate figures:

caps
IVDAS
SIMON
TADEVS

(a) Chasuble of St. Etienne and of Queen Gisela, treasury of the Château d'Ofen (11th c.): **IVDAS, SIMON, TADEVS**, etc.[2]

(b) ivory casket, Turin, Sabauda Gallery (12-13th c.): Judas (next to Simon),

---

[1] Simon and Judas Thaddeus shared martyrdom and the same feast, October 28. The order of the Canon of the Mass is Matthew, Simon, Judas Thaddeus, Matthias.

Canon

[2] Louis de Farcy, La Broderie, Angers, 1890, v. 2, pl. I.

Thaddeus (between Philip and Barnabas).[1]

(c) metal reliquary casket of St. Honoratus, treasury of Servatius church, Siegburg, Cologne, ca. 1200:[2] IVDAS (next to Simon), IUDEUS(?) (between James and Matthew).

IVdAS
THAdEVS

(d) bone casket, Louvre, 1200-50:[3] IVdAS (next to Simon), THAdEVS (between James and Barnabas).

IVdAS
TAdEVS

(e) bone casket, Leningrad, Hermitage Museum, 1200-50:[4] IVdAS (next to Simon), TAdEVS (between Matthew and Barnabas).

(f) portable walrus-ivory altar, Rhenish (Cologne), Cleveland Museum of Art (ca. 1200 or before):[5] S̃CSIVDAS and SC̃ɑV̲DAS.

---

[1] Paris, Petit Palais, *Trésors d'Italie*, Paris, 1952, #129.

[2] Names inscribed but figures now lost. Otto von Falke and Heinrich Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeit des mittelalters und andere Kunstwerke der Kunsthistorischen Ausstellung zu Düsseldorf*, 1902, Frankfurt am Main, 1904, pl. 59.

[3] Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die elfenbeinskulpturen*, Berlin, 1923, v. 3, pl. XXI(61c).

[4] Goldschmidt, v. 3, pl. XXIII(64b).

[5] Goldschmidt, v. 4, pl. LXXVI (302d); also William Milliken, "Two Medieval Objects from the Rhineland. . . ," *Cleveland Museum Bulletin*, XIV, 1927, pp. 56-63 and figs. 60, 61. The letters are sometimes jumbled or reversed, i.e.,

HEVSTAM	(Matthew!)
SAƆV⅃	(Luke)

(g) portable enamel altar ("altar of Gregory"), in treasury of Servatius church, Siegburg (12th c.), from the Abbey of Siegburg:[1] IVDAS (between Matthias and Matthew); TH DEV' (next to Simon).

CAPS →

TH DEV'
leave only 1 space

(h) embroidered cope-fragment, Steeple Aston church, early 14th c.:[2] Thaddeus (next to John, on section 2), Judas (on section 3).

In relating the above situation to Saint-Père, it should be remembered that the apostle group of the nave is quite amorphous and, in this way, typical for its date. It comprises twelve saints, but among them are a Barnabas and a Matthias, and three Jameses. There is no Simon, no Peter (no Paul either). The artist was straining for precision, was searching for individualizing attributes, at a period when there was no rubic to consult. He adopted the few which had already become traditional: Bartholomew's knife, Andrew's cross. He followed current trends, some of which were to enjoy only a brief vogue (John's palm, Thomas' lance, Matthew's ax).[1] He embalms at least one attribute which was retardataire by ca. 1300: James' sheathed sword (Philip with a sword could also be placed in this category). Matthew's ax, on the other hand, is precocious for the date. The confusion of Jameses is total: two of them carry a sword and a club, while the one specifically labeled James Lesser has a staff (a minimal nod given to the crystallized James-Pilgrim iconography, and here bestowed upon the wrong James).

---

[1] Hermann Schnitzler, Rheinische Schatzkammer die Romanik, Düsseldorf, 1959, v. 2, pl. 154. Note that, in the case of the other object from Siegburg (c) supra, it is Ivdas who is next to Simon.

[2] Christie, pl. CXV.

The Saint-Père glaziers demonstrably worked from manuscript sources in other windows, and it seems likely that the rope attribute was borrowed from a miniature of Judas Hanged, examples of which were numerous by the early fourteenth century.

Bay 21: The ecclesiastical saints in the three southern bays of the nave carry no attributes and some have no inscriptions.

---

[1] I am assuming for purposes of discussion that the upper (Philip and James) and lower (Thomas and Matthew) apostles of Bay 20 were originally interchanged. The attributes are completely chaotic otherwise.

Bay 21 (Pl. 57) is the only window on the south where all of the figures are still identifiable. They are Popes Gregory and Silvester, the Virgin and Child, and a kneeling donor, the Canon Laurent Voisin.

caps →

The papal saint S GREGORI is probably Gregory VII (1073-85) rather than the church father. Gregory VII was the pope to whom St. Gildiun, the abbey's patron, journeyed to decline his bishopric.[1] His inclusion here would imply a connection similar to that between Sts. Clement and Denis in Bay 23.

caps →

The choice of S SILVESTER (fourth pope of the Catholic Church) as one of two sainted popes singled out for emphasis at Saint-Père, is more obscure. Silvester's medieval following, not inconsiderable, was apparently based upon the accidental fact of his feast falling upon New Year's Eve. He was the patron saint of masons, whose guild gave his window in the cathedral. There is no indication that a similar patronage existed in Saint-Père; quite the reverse, in fact.

---

[1] A Cluniac, Gregory VII was the pope who humbled Henry IV at Canossa in 1077, the same year St. Gilduin died at Saint-Père. Gregory VII was canonized only in 1606. It was not unknown for a medieval church to represent as haloed, however, religious figures of particular importance to the locale. St. Gilduin is discussed in Chapter VIII.

Bay 21 is the only window in the series of standing saints on the nave where a donor is shown, and it has been done without breaking the visual pattern. The Canon and the Virgin to whom he prays take their places democratically among the standing saints of the nave. The Canon in fact kneels, but his figure is quite as large and conspicuous as the others.

A full-sized image of the donor is included in Bay 21. The inscription behind his head reads: MAGISTER LAVRENCIVS CAPITERIVS CARNOTENSI_.[1] Laurent Voisin was capiterius (chefcier or dean) of the cathedral of Chartres by 1293[2] and died in the winter of 1314-15.[1] Beneath his feet are two windows of the rose-and-doublet design, a style which was out-of-date by ca. 1300. They may thus be taken to be illustrations of the nave windows in which the canon's portrait is found, possibly an indication that his gift included two windows. If this theory is valid, the other window would unquestionably be Bay 20 across

---

[1] Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, Histoire de la peinture sur verre, Paris, 1857, p. 40, read it as: MAG.ST...AVRENTIVS CA.....BITER...CARNOTANSI. Bulteau (1850), p. 296, read "Magister Laurentius capicerius Carnotensis."

[2] He had this title in a bill of sale of real estate, Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir, H267, p. 40: "Pierre d'Escublé, escuier, maire de Hardeville, et demoiselle Perronnelle, sa fame, requenurent eus avoir vendu a home honorable et sage mestre Lorenz Voisin, chanoine et chevecier en l'église Nostre-Dame de Chartres. . . ." He also is mentioned as a dean in a document of March 27, 1294 (o.s.), Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir, G 1438 (#8 Cotte A. II--1294, a sale of houses to Nicolas de Maison-Maugis by executors of the will of Robert de Troville). See Maurice Jusselin, "Une Maison du XIIIe siecle recemment découverte au cloître Notre-Dame, à Chartres," Bulletin monumental, v. 75, 1911, pp. 350-95 (for this document specifically, see pp. 363-64).

---

[1] His will is dated Sept. 1314 (Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir, G 134, Inv. du chap. Caisse LXVII, C, 7 (p. 18). (The contents of this will are described in E. de Lépinois and Lucien Merlet, Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres, Chartres, 1863, v. 2, p. 233, n. 2.) A bill of sale by his executors is dated July 31, 1315 (Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir, H1 (v. 1, p. 405)). Another document dated February 1315 (o.s.?) mentions the sale of land by his executors (Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir, H267, p. 40). His anniversary was celebrated March 18 (XV Kalendas Aprilis) by the cathedral (source is a late 17th c. compiled necrology, Bibl. Imp., suppl. lat. 31, cited in Lépinois and Merlet, v. 3, p. 65 and p. 9 no. 1; the marginal note that the canon died in 1313 is incorrect). His anniversary was celebrated April 7 by the abbey of Saint-Père (Lucien and René Merlet, "Dignitaires de l'église Notre-Dame de Chartres," Archives du diocèse de Chartres, v. 5, 1900, p. 286). The Saint-Père necrologies which these authors made use of (Bibl. Chartres ms. 1031, 1037$^{7}_{D}$, 1038$^{7}_{D}$, and old no. 26-30) were almost all totally destroyed by fire in World War II.

Dign

the nave (Pl. 54). Bays 20 and 21 are the only windows of the series of standing saints to be filled originally with colored diaper instead of grisaille framing panels.[1]

caps
S MARTINVS
SEnT LVBIN
lower case

Bay 25: Bay 25 (Pl. 72) contains four bishop-saints, S **MARTINVS**, **SEnT LVBIN**[2] and two without inscriptions. It seems likely that the latter two had inscriptions which have been removed. They may have been removed when the four coats-of-arms now visible in the grisailles were installed. Two of them are the arms of Hélie de Bourdeilles (1423-84) (Pl. 88) and the other two those of either François (34th abbot of Saint-Père, 1522-40) or Christophe de Brilhac (32nd abbot, 1491-14), all of whom were, at one time in their careers, bishops.[3]

---

[1] The colored diaper in lozenge pattern which was employed in place of the grisaille used elsewhere in the series was removed in the late 17th or 18th c. Remains of it still fill the tops of the lancets.

[2] Not Urbain, as the photomontage of the Archives Photographiques (Pl. 72) states.

[3] Hélie de Bourdeilles, b. 1423, was bishop of Périgueux in 1447, archbishop of Tours in 1467, cardinal in 1483, d. 1484. Until the 1953 restoration one of his two escutcheons was surmounted by a red hat with six tassels (1, 2 and 3) (a photograph taken while the panels were being restored in the 1950's exists in the Archives Photographiques but was not used for the photomontage). François de Brilhac was archbishop of Aix. His tomb was in the south aisle of Saint-Pere, where he had been abbot (1522-40), and according to Dom Aubert (ch. 121) he 'put colored glass into two nave windows.' His uncle Christophe de Brilhac, 32nd abbot of Saint-Pere (1491-1514), was bishop of Orleans from 1504. One of the two de Brilhac escutcheons is surmounted by a bishop's mitre and crozier. See: Comte d'Armancourt, "Chartres. Notes héraldiques et généalogiques," Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Le Cinquantenaire, 1906, v. I, p. 185 (no. 48) and pp. 191-92 (no. 56). D'Armancourt believes the arms belong to François and not Christophe.

St. Martin of Tours was one of the most popular saints in thirteenth century France. In Bay 25 he holds a cross-staff rather than the usual crozier, probably an old restoration designed when the heads of the four bishops were reworked (the cross touches Martin's head). He is always shown with a crozier in medieval art.[1]

St. Lubin was a bishop of Chartres in the sixth century. He is included twice in the cathedral: Bay 63 in the north aisle, given by the tavernkeepers;[2] and a bas-relief on the Confessors portal, south porch. He was also included in a missal of the usage of Saint-Père dating in the first half of the fourteenth century (Chartres, Bibl. mun., ms. 519, destroyed in World War II).

The two bishops now incognito might have included St. Nicholas, a bishop-saint beloved in the thirteenth century who is not otherwise represented in Saint-Père, or any number of local saints such as Piat, Hilaire, Germain[1] or Fulbert.[2]

---

[1] As far as it is possible to tell he was never shown with anything but a crozier in France.

[2] Delaporte, Plates II, pl. CLXXV.

Bay 29: Bay 29 (Pl. 85) contains four abbots, of whom only one, SEnT MOR, is now named. Large standing figures of Maurus are not common even in Benedictine establishments. The extraordinary clarity and legibility of the inscription, considering the otherwise heavy damage and restoration throughout the window, makes his identification suspect. It is possible that the inscription was repainted after the abbey joined the Congregation of Saint-Maur in 1650, probably during the restorations to the church fabric and windows undertaken shortly thereafter in 1654-59.[3] On the other hand, Maurus was included in the missal referred to above (Chartres, Bibl. mun., ms. 519), as were Laumer and Benedict, other Benedictine saints. Any conjecture about his original identity or that of the other three abbot-saints would be pure guesswork. One can only presume with some certainty, on the basis of the present confused leading patterns above their heads, that originally they were all named.

---

[1] These saints have been mentioned because they occur in the missal previously referred to (Chartres, Bibl. mun. ms. 519). St. Germain l'Auxerrois also appears in a cathedral window, Bay 54 (Delaporte, Plates II, pl. CXLVI).

[2] Born ca. 960, bishop of Chartres from 1006, died April 10, 1028. He was buried in Saint-Père near the high altar.

[3] Dom Aubert, as cited by Louis-Marie Michon, "L'abbaye de St.-Père de Chartres; étude archeologique sur l'église abbatiale et les bâtiments monastiques," _Ecole nationale des chartes_, _Positions des thèses_, 1922, pp. 95-103 (1ère partie, V).

The beatified churchmen of the south side of the nave show the same reasoned organization which was evidenced in the apostles group on the north. They were grouped according to their status, and without much doubt they were named. Unfortunately, largely as a result of historical accidents, so few names are left or are reliable that they offer us little insight into the life of the monastery at the time when the windows were designed. The circumstance is to be regretted. A knowledge of which bishop- and abbot-saints rated special veneration by the abbey at the beginning of the fourteenth century might have illuminated a relationship which seems to have emerged between the abbey community and the cathedral at the beginning of the fourteenth century, after a period of strife lasting more than a century.[1] Two canons of the cathedral--Laurent Voisin and Nicolas de Maison-Maugis[2]--contributed heavily toward the glazing of the nave of the abbey-church. The abbot of Saint-Père was one of the executors of Laurent Voisin's will. Lubin, beatified bishop of Chartres cathedral, is among the nave saints. Evidence of a new and closer relationship between the Abbey of Saint-Père and Chartres cathedral is tantalizing but also meagre.

The iconography of the standing figures of the nave is clearly an ordering and patterning of the apsidal chorus. An improvement was probably intended. In the nave the sainted ecclesiastics are arrayed on one side, neatly subdivided into abbots (Bay 29), bishops (Bay 25) and popes (Bay 21), while the apostles are grouped facing them from the other. Many of the latter carry not only attributes similar to those shown in the hemicycle, but name-inscriptions as well. In the case of the prelates, who carry no personal attributes, these nave inscriptions, in a handsome 'Lombardic,' have little relevance to the comparable figures of the hemicycle. One can assume, if one likes, that the anonymous abbot-saints of Bay 6 of the hemicycle include a St. Maur, as does nave Bay 29; or that the undefined apsidal bishop and archbishop are Martin and Lubin, as in Bay 25 of the nave. But wishful thinking is the only basis for such assumptions.

---

[1] *Gallia christiana*, v. 8, p. 353-c, reports an *accord* between the canons and monks in 1225. A document of 1233, reported by Dom Aubert, relates a dispute between them. The canons came in procession to the abbey for the Vigil of Sts. Peter and Paul and found the church not prepared for their arrival. Offended by this negligence, they seized and/or did violence to a reliquary of the arm of St. Ignace (later returned, and in the possession of the monastery in the 17th c.), two altars and two manuscripts. See: F. de Mély, "Les inventaires de l'abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 4th series, v. 4 (v. 36), July 1886, pp. 316-17.

[2] See the discussion of Nicolas de Maison-Maugis, canon of the cathedral and benefactor of Saint-Père in Chapter I.

In dealing with the two groups of apostles there is a little more evidence to go on, such evidence being the attributes held in common in both ensembles. It is tempting and probably correct, for example, to assume that St. Barnabas with flame and inscription (Bay 28) copies a St. Barnabas with flame but no inscription in Bay 5 of the hemicycle. A further extension of this sort of analogy is dangerous, however. The iconographic relationship was more probably the following: the nave artists (and patrons) wished to copy and also to clarify the identities of the figures of the hemicycle. They did copy the attributes shown there, some of which had become standard and some of which were becoming archaic in the fast-moving iconography of the time. Then names were bestowed, and it is these names which reveal the same state of iconographic flux and confusion perceptible in the hemicycle. It is disappointing--but more realistic--to accept the nave not as the long-lost "key" to the hemicycle (and other ensembles)[1] but as a near-contemporary derivation.

---

[1] Lafond relies rather too heavily upon it in dealing with iconographic problems at Saint-Ouen. (Jean Lafond in Lefrançois-Pillion, XIV, pp. 197-98, p. 232, no. 20.)

312

CHAPTER XI

NAVE: NARRATIVE WINDOWS--ICONOGRAPHY

Alternating with the six nave windows containing large standing saints are six windows illustrating saints' lives in rows of small canopied scenes. The subjects are as follows:

South side: Bay 19--the Virgin
Bay 23--Saints Clement and Denis
Bay 27--Saints Catherine and Agnes

North side: Bay 18--the Passion
Bay 22--Saints Peter and Paul
Bay 26--Saint John the Baptist

The storied windows form the richest group in the church for historical as well as iconographic study. Undoubtedly they were part of a unified campaign dating early in the fourteenth century (ca. 1305-15) and their variations in quality, style and approach probably reflect exigencies of haste in chantier modest by cathedral standards. The iconographic arrangement, while not rigid, clearly is governed by an over-all pattern. The Virgin and Infancy scenes face the Passion across the nave; the saints of particular veneration of the church, Denis (and with him

313

Clement, the pope who authorized his mission) and Peter and Paul, also confront one another. The two female saints occupy the Virgin's side of the nave; the Lord's precursor is placed on the Passion side. In individual windows the stories progress from bottom to top and within the row generally from left to right, in the customary gothic manner; they vary in which lancet is to be read first.

Many of the lancets contain unusual iconographic detail which indicates a model, sometimes a definite manuscript (the Denis window, the Church and Synagogue of the Passion window), other times only a hint of some archaic type (Nativity, many scenes from Passion window). The Saint-Père narrative windows form an important group of work in a little-understood transitional period, between the High Gothic and the Italianate influences, new techniques, and tendency to intimacy and sentiment of the fourteenth century. This transitional stance is just as true for the iconography of the windows as for their technique and style. As was the case with both standing figure series in the church the narrative windows exhibit the beginning of a rejection of standard thirteenth century forms and a search for fresher ones. The field is ripe for Bonaventura and

Pucelle, but Bonaventura and Pucelle have not yet come.

(Centered)
A. Bay 19: Virgin

A. Bay 19: Virgin

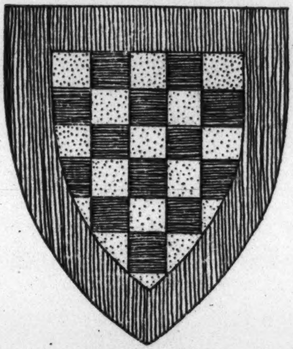
Although the two lancets of Bay 19 (Pl. 52) do not match in format, style or color harmony, the fact that the Virgin's story unfolds with a smooth transition between the lancets indicates that they were intended, at least ultimately, to form a unity. As the Joachim and Anna lancet precedes the Virgin lancet in style, this intention can be presumed to have been manifest from the beginning of the program.

The two escutcheons (see Fig. infra) in the surmounting rosace are those of Robert IV de Dreux and his wife (or conceivably of their daughter Béatrix).[1] As Robert died November 14, 1282, too early to have been the benefactor in question, the donor commemorated was probably his wife, Béatrix de Montfort-l'Amaury, who outlived him by thirty years, dying March 9, 1312 (n.s.).[2] Although the arms, by

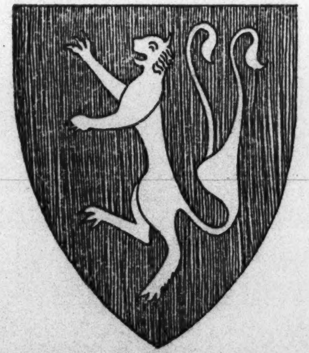
---

[1] The daughter Béatrix, born between ca. 1265 and 1282, was elected abbess of Port-Royal ca. 1326 and died ca. 1328. Her tomb bears the arms of Dreux and Montfort. Pere Anselme, Histoire genealogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France, Paris, 1726, v. 1, p. 429.

[2] Béatrix's death-date from Anselme, v. 1, p. 428. See also: Comte d'Armancourt, "Chartres. Notes héraldiques et généalogiques," Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Le Cinquantenaire, 1906, v. 1, pp. 230-31 (#101) and pp. 313-15 (#192); André du Chesne, Histoire genealogique de la maison royale de Dreux, Paris, 1631, pp. 90ff. Although marshalling of arms was introduced generally in the latter thirteenth century, it does not occur in the arms of this house until the mid or late 14th c.



DREUX
Checky of 5 pieces OR. and AZ.
in a border GU.



MONTFORT
GU. a lion rampant
ARG. with a forked tail

Fig. 14

their position in the tracery rose, surmount both lancets, the presence of an anonymous abbot-donor in the Virgin lancet suggests that the Dreux gift was of the Joachim-Anna lancet only. The house of Dreux-Montfort included no abbot during the early fourteenth century nor would a male have employed both parents' arms.

Béatrix probably donated the Joachim-Anna lancet before her death, most likely during the first decade of the fourteenth century.[1] The earlier lancet stylistically, it is probably the work of the artist who compiled and completed Bay 22 of the nave[2] (Pl. 58) (a window dated by its donor-portrait 1305-10), and therefore places early in the nave compaign. The Virgin lancet is undoubtedly a separate gift, possibly by the abbot of Saint-Père Jean de Mantes (donor of Bay 22) or of his successor in office.

The scenes of Bay 19 are arranged from bottom to top, right lancet first. Insofar as there is anymovement of the story within the three canopies of each row it is from left to right (i.e., Birth of Mary and her Presentation

---

[1] Béatrix's two sons, both of whom fought in the Flemish wars (1296-1305), died ca. 1303 (Robert) and 1309 (Jean II). In 1311 she disposed of a château to a niece.

[2] See discussion Chapter IV.

317

at the Temple; Annunciation and Visitation).

Joachim-Anna lancet

The story of Mary commences with an elaborate presentation of the apocryphal scenes of Joachim and Anna. While fairly common in art from the mid-twelfth century on, these scenes never crystallized to anything like the degree that the canonical scenes did. Thirteenth century series include occasional apocryphal scenes, sometimes one, sometimes another, in no rigid format.

The Saint-Père window is extraordinarily complete. It opens with the earliest apocryphal scenes of Mary's infancy, Joachim's offering rejected by the High Priest. Joachim, unnimbed, stands holding a lamb; to the left are two figures, one undoubtedly the priest Reuben, before a draped altar; to the right, behind Joachim, is Anna. The text is from Protevangelium I:2: "Now the great day of the Lord drew nigh and the children of Israel offered their gifts. And Reuben stood over against him [Joachim] saying: It is now lawful for thee to offer thy gifts first, forasmuch as thou hast gotten no seed in Israel."[1] Although Anna is not mentioned in the text she not infrequently was included in art.

---

[1] Montague Rhodes James, trs., The Apocryphal New Testament, Oxford, 1953 (corrected ed.), p. 39. (Cited hereafter as ANT.)

The second row includes two scenes, Anna reproved by Judith and Joachim retiring to the Wilderness. Both are very rare, the former being one of the unique examples which can be identified in French medieval art. Not even in the apocryphal cycle in Bay 16 of the cathedral, where the special veneration of St. Anne after 1204 is well-known, does this scene appear.[1] The text is from Protevangelium II:2:

> And Judith said: How shall I curse
> thee, seeing the Lord hath shut up
> thy womb, to give thee no fruit
> in Israel?[2]

---

[1] It is not included, for example, in Bay 16, south choir (Delaporte, Plates I, pl. XLIV), the Joachim-Anna window. The apparent rarity of the scene may derive in part from the fact that it is difficult to recognize, containing only two figures and no specific background or 'props.' Non-French examples: two Greek manuscripts of the Homiliae Jacobus, 11-12th c. a) BN gr, 1208, fol. 21v.; and b) Rome, Vatican Bibl., gr. 1162, fol. 16v.; Drui Liet von der Maget, a 12-13th c. manuscript by Wernher von Tegernsee depicting all the apocrypha of the Virgin (Berlin, Staatsbibl., germ. oct. 109, fol. 14r, lost since World War II); and it is probably among the scenes of a Book of Hours of the use of Sarum, ca. 1240, illuminated by William de Brailes (Brit. Mus. Add. 49999, fol. 1v) (see: Sidney Cockerell, The Work of William de Brailes, Cambridge (Roxburghe Club), 1930, pp. 18ff).

Rox

[2] ANT, p. 39.

Anna is seated left; Judith stands to the right, sharing the central canopy with the Joachim of the next scene.

The text for Joachim retiring to the Wilderness is Protevangelium I:4: "And Ioacim was sore grieved, and . . . betook himself into the wilderness. . . ."[1] As in many versions of the scene shepherds and sheep appear. Joachim, holding a shepherd's pedem, approaches two shepherds with their flocks.[2] Even the sheep seem to shrink from his news.

The third row is devoted to the Annunciation to Joachim:

> . . . for an angel of the Lord came down
> unto him saying: Ioacim, Ioacim, the
> Lord God hath hearkened unto thy prayer.
> Get thee down hence, for behold thy wife
> Anna hath conceived.[3]

The personae are five shepherds and their sheep, Joachim seated on a rock holding a tau-staff, and the angel. The Annunciation to Joachim, often the introductory scene in a life of Mary, was an important episode and here is spread over all three panels of the row.

---

[1] *ANT*, p. 39.

[2] In the photomontage in the Archives Photographiques (Pl. 52) the right panel (two shepherds and sheep) is interchanged with the one above (one shepherd and sheep). The panels are correctly mounted in the church (see Pl. 49).

[3] Protevangelium IV:2 (*ANT* p. 40).

The Annunciation to Anne, a lesser scene often omitted, is squeezed into a single panel of the following row. Anne is seated, the angel descending holding a phylactery. The text[1] is from Protevangelium IV:1:

PROTEV

> And behold an angel of the Lord
> appeared, saying unto her: Anna,
> Anna, the Lord hath hearkened
> unto thy prayer, and thou shalt
> conceive and bear. . . .

The central panel of the fourth row shows Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate, embracing one another before a symmetrically designed medieval 'city.' The text for this most famous moment of the Joachim-Anne story is:

> And behold Ioacim came with his flocks,
> and Anna stood at the gate and saw
> Ioacim coming, and ran and hung upon
> his neck, saying: Now know I that
> the Lord God hath greatly blessed me:
> for behold the widow is no more a
> widow, and she that was childless
> shall conceive.[2]

The two female figures under the right canopy, one of them nimbed, are very curious. The panel is probably out of place.

---

[1] ANT, p. 40.

[2] Protevangelium, IV:4 (ANT, p. 40).

321

As the scene at the Golden Gate never includes witnesses in northern medieval art [1] it seems likely that the panel was intended to be part of the Calling of the Suitors scene two rows above.[2]

If so, what would the original (lost) panel have shown? At Chartres (Bay 16, south choir aisle)[3] and Auxerre (archivolts of left portal, west facade, second half thirteenth-fourteenth century) an unidentified scene of Joachim and Anne together is included in sequence between the Golden Gate and the Nativity of Mary.

The fifth row is evenly divided between the Birth and Mary's Presentation in the Temple, the two scenes merging in the extremely cramped quarters of the central panel. The figures belonging to the Nativity of Mary are Saint Anne reclining in bed (left panel) and the midwife holding the baby (central panel). The text is from Protevangelium V:2: "And her months were fulfilled, and in the ninth month Anna brought forth. And she said unto the midwife: What have I brought forth? And she said: A female. And Anna said: My soul is magnified this day, and she laid herself down."[1] None of the apocryphal texts mention a bath of the baby, often found in art. It is probably omitted at Saint-Père because the space is so crowded. The scene otherwise follows the norm, as a comparison to Bay 16 of Chartres Cathedral bears evidence.

---

[1] Witnesses do appear often in Italian trecento frescoes. Examples: Arena chapel at Padua, ca. 1303-08; Santa Croce, Florence, Baroncelli chapel, 1322-38; Rinaccini chapel, ca. 1365.

[2] See discussion of that scene infra. It is possible that the framing panels of the window were removed in the eighteenth century, as were those of Bays 20, 21, 22 and 23. Both of the missing panels of Bay 19 are outer ones, as in those windows.

[3] Delaporte, Plates I, pl. XLIV. Perhaps Protevangelium, IV:4 is intended: "And Ioacim rested the first day in his house."

Sharing the central panel with the midwife are Joachim and Anne presenting their daughter at the temple. The Virgin stands on the fifth and sixth steps of a short stairway (central panel) leading up to the draped altar and High Priest (right panel). The text which mentions steps is Pseudo-Matthew IV.[2] Although the priest's dexter hand has been mangled there is no doubt that the panel was originally designed in the rather awkward form in which it now appears. The artist has tried to show in the same panel the priest standing outside the temple and the draped altar on a high elevation (equal to the top of the stairway) inside. The gesture of Anne embracing her little daughter on the steps, on the other hand, is quite fine.

---

[1] ANT, p. 41

[2] ANT, p. 73, relating how Mary walked up fifteen steps without looking back. Protevangelium VIII:1 (ANT, p. 42) simply states: "And her parents gat them down Marvelling, and praising the Lord God because the child was not turned away backward." The Saint-Père scene includes the stairway, but not one of fifteen steps, probably because the panel is quite cramped.

The sixth row shows the Calling of the Suitors. The text is[1] probably from Protevangelium VIII-IX. The High Priest, issuing from the temple doors, stands to the left of the draped altar, while Joseph with the flowering rod and another suitor with rod occupy the central panel. The right panel is missing. Perhaps it is the panel with two female figures now located two rows below, in which case the nimbed female would be Mary.

No set format emerged for the Calling of the Suitors in gothic France. It was often excluded or only tokenly represented: i.e., a group of suitors carrying rods (Notre-Dame, St. Anne portal, archivolts), a priest and altar with flowering rods upon it (Le Mans, thirteenth century window in Virgin chapel).[2] Chartres Cathedral Bay 16 is one of the few clear examples where the Virgin appears. A draped altar is flanked by the Virgin and a female companion (left) and a suitor with rod and Joseph with flowering rod (right). There is therefore good local precedent for the hypothesis that the panel of the women belongs here. The inclusion of both Joseph and the priest places Saint-Père otherwise with later examples.

---

[1] __ANT__, p. 42. In both the sources M. R. James considers basic, i.e. Protevangelium and Pseudo-Matthew, Joseph is chosen by a dove rather than a flowering rod.

[2] Illustrated in E. Hucher, __Vitraux du Mans__, 1864, unnumbered plate (pls. 43-44).

The final scene of the lancet is the Marriage of the Virgin spread across all three panels of the top row. The priest, flanked by the wedding couple and four witnesses, grasps a hand of Mary and of Joseph in his own. The scene is similar to Chartres Bay 16, where the personae are the same (but three of the witnesses are nimbed) and where there is likewise no altar. The text is Protevangelium IX:1: "And the priest said unto Joseph: Unto thee hath it fallen to take the virgin of the Lord and keep her for thyself."[1]

The apocryphal stories of Mary's birth are illustrated in the right lancet in very elaborate detail. The process of refinement and clarification of the stories, which had been occasional subjects for art in France since the mid-twelfth century, continued throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The completeness and narrative detail of Saint-Père is rarely found in monumental art into the fourteenth century, by which time artists began to lose interest in many of the scenes which had caught the fancies of their predecessors.[1] In stained glass the scenes customarily become abbreviated to the Annunciation to Joachim and the Nativity of Mary.[2] The scene of Judith reproving St. Anne is especially unusual and probably indicates that the artist worked directly from a text.

---

[1] ANT, p. 42.

It is not only the all-inclusiveness which makes the Saint-Père window unusual. The scenes run on, the narrative rambles in an unclassified and casual manner which is quite atypical of the fourteenth century spirit. The artist was wrestling with the problem of how to present stories in the clerestory. Primitive canopies have been employed instead of medallion frames, but the lancet is crowded with rows, seven as in Bay 22 (Pl. 58) instead of the five used elsewhere in the series. In the attempt at visual organization the artist of the Joachim-Anna lancet was considerably disadvantaged by the amorphous nature of his subject.

---

[1] The trend is less apparent, however, in ivories and manuscripts.

x felden

[2] Königsfelden (2nd quarter 14th c.) and Niederhaslach (Alsace, Florentius church, 1390-1420) both include more scenes, but in neither case as many or in as elaborate detail as at Saint-Pere. See: Michael Stettler, Stained Glass of the Early Fourteenth Century from the Church of Koenigsfelder, New York, 1949, p. 28.

Virgin lancet

The extent of his handicap is shown by the juxtaposition of the neighboring lancet devoted to the canonical stories of the Virgin, a work by a different artist. The canopies are larger and more elaborate. There are only five rows, each tall enough to be divided vertically into two panels. The included scenes are trimmed in number, increased in size and presented as tableaux with fewer and more readily distinguished personae. In all fairness it must be pointed out, however, that the iconographic sorting and sifting of Infancy scenes had been accomplished in art by the late thirteenth century. Mary's apocryphal legends never achieved such crystallization.

The scenes selected for the left lancet of Bay 19 comprise:

Row 1 - Annunciation (with donor) and Visitation
Row 2 - Nativity
Row 3 - Adoration of the Magi
Row 4 - Presentation in the Temple
Row 5 - Death of Mary (Pl. 50a)

The Annunciation (Luke I: 26-38) occupies the left and central panels of the bottom row, the Visitation taking the right panel. This somewhat crowded arrangement has the virtue of placing the Annunciate Mary and the kneeling abbot donor in the central panel. The donor-figure, in fact, takes the place of the chair often found behind Mary, and he is so insignificant that his presence has passed utterly unnoticed in the literature on Saint-Père.[1] Who is he? If, as is most likely, he is an abbot of Saint-Père, he is probably Jean de Mantes, abbot 1305-10, donor of Bay 22 and probable instigator of the narrative window series of the nave.

The personae of the Annunciation stand, as was customary in the thirteenth century. Gabriel presents a scroll upon which is written AVE MARIA GRATIA. A dove with cruciform halo descends behind the Madonna. There is no vase. The scene is absolutely typical of mid-thirteenth century French practice.

The two women of the Visitation (Luke I: 39-56) have locked their inner arms about one another's shoulders. Mary clutches a book to her breast while Elizabeth places her hand on the volume in a genteel version of the touching of the womb found in later art.

---

[1] This surprising fact may be partially accounted for by the darkened condition of the glass and the change in ground color (Pl. 49). The central panel with Mary and donor has a somewhat darkened red ground; both the side panels, including the Angel Gabriel, have blue grounds.

The Nativity of row 2 (Luke II: 1-7) is a scene of considerable interest. As in earlier art the Virgin lies abed to the left, turning her head away. The swaddled child lies in the center on a raised crib, a boxlike manger rather than an 'altar' of the twelfth and early thirteenth century type. Behind Him are the ox and ass.[1] To the right is Joseph, either seated or kneeling (the lower panel is now lost). A midwife crouches at the foot of the bed, and a lamp is suspended incongruously below her extended arms.

The latter two details provide clues to the artist's working methods, involving early models he no longer understood. Although a lamp was traditionally hung above the Child, as in the Chartres west window, a lamp or lamps suspended below the 'altar' type crib occasionally appear in thirteenth century art. French examples include a few manuscripts[2] and, notably, stained glass windows from Troyes cathedral (apse, Infancy window, ca. 1210-15) and Le Mans (Virgin chapel, Bay G, before 1254).

---

[1] Although common in medieval art, the ox and ass are mentioned only in Pseudo-Matthew XIV (ANT, p. 74). The ultimate source is a reference in Isaiah I:3.

[2] a) psalter executed for priory of Jully-sous-Ravières 1st half 13th c. (Lyons, Bibl. de la ville, no. 539, fol. 196v), (illustrated in V. Leroquais, Le Psautier de Jully, Lyon, 1923, pl. VI); b) antiphonary, Brussels, Bibl. Roy. 155, fol. 40v (illustrated in George Vitzthum von Eckstädt, Die Pariser miniaturmalerei von der zeit des hl. Ludwig bis zu Phillipp von Valois und ihr Verhältnis zur Malerei in Nordwesteuropa, Leipzig, 1907, pl. XXIV.

The Saint-Père artist, who evidently had such a scene, or the memory of it, before him, was forced by the proportions of his panel and the presence of the midwife to place the lamp below her arms. It is, actually, correctly placed below the Child on axis with the crib, but appears to be hung incongruously from the midwife's upper sleeves.

The midwife is even stronger evidence of the use of models, in this case a very different one. Discounting the scene of the Christchild's bath, which is found in western art by the seventh century and maintained some popularity through the gothic era,[1] the midwives who figured so prominently at the Nativity for centuries became increasingly rare as the gothic era progressed.[2] In Early Christian art the iconography of the midwives, or more particularly of the doubting Salome (Zelomi), had been a firmly established part of the Nativity. The texts from Pseudo-Matthew XIII and Protevangelium XIX:2, 3 and XX:1-4[1] relate the episode, culminating in Salome's cry, "Woe unto mine inquity and mine unbelief. . . ."

---

[1] Early examples: a) 7-8th c. frescoes in cubiculum, Cem. Valentino, Rome; b) mosaic fragment from Old St. Peter's, ca. 705-07, now in Petriano Museum, Rome. It is common in Greek manuscripts and the 10-11th c. frescoes of Cappadocia. Examples in gothic France include: a) Lyons cathedral, apse pilasters, capital 6 (2nd half 12th c.); b) Laon, 13th c. apse window; c) Auxerre, archivolts of right portal, 2nd half 13th c.

[2] They are not included in the Chartres west window, ca. 1145, nor in the Ste. Anne portal of Notre-Dame (late 12th c. section). By the 14th c. they are almost never found. The midwives are revived by the more earthy Flemings in the early 15th c. (see Robert Campin's Dijon Nativity).

The episode easily crystallized into the figure of Salome kneeling or crouching at the foot of the bed, extending her withered arms toward the Virgin. She is usually in front of the crib and supports her arm with the other hand. Ivory objects from the western Roman Empire regularly contain the motif from the sixth century on;[2] it was adopted by Roman fresco and mosaic artists in the eighth century;[3] and is found in such well-known early medieval sites as Castelseprio,[1] the Hildesheim doors (ca. 1008-15), and the bronze doors of Benevento cathedral (12-13th c.). In France it occurs in the Sacramentary of Drogo (BN lat. 9428, fol. 24v., initial letter), a School of Metz manuscript of ca. 850.[2] Strangely enough it was dropped in Byzantium and never became an influence in German Romanesque manuscripts.[3]

---

[1] *ANT*, pp. 74 and 46-47.

[2] Many examples can be cited. Among the earliest: a) ivory chair of Maximianus, in Mus. Arcivescovile, Ravenna (6th c.); b) Syrian ivory book cover, 6th c., Brit. Mus. (illustrated in O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art*, Oxford, 1925, pl. XXVI); c) sculptured altar-canopy from San Marco, Venice, front of left column (for illustration see Wilpert, v. II, fig. 319); d) Coptic ivory plaque from diptych, Bologna, Mus. Civico (7-8th c.) (Illustrated in A. Goldschmidt, *Elfenbein*., v. 4, 1926, pl. XLI (#125)).

[3] a) destroyed mosaics from Old St. Peter's, Chapel of John VII (dated 705-07), preserved in Grimaldi drawings (see: Raffaele Garrucci, *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa*, Prato, 1872-81, v. 4 (1877), pl. 279(1) and 280 (2) and (3)); b) frescoes in cubiculum, Cem. Valentino, Rome (7-8th c.); c) fragments of fresco in right aisle, Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome (2nd half 8th-2nd half 9th c.) (see: Wladimir de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, Rome, 1911, pl. XXI (photo) and fig. 83 (drawing); d) destroyed fresco of late 10th c., nave clerestory of San Sebastiano al Palatino, Rome (preserved in drawings) (see Wilpert, v. 2, fig. 321).

By the thirteenth century the figure and gesture, in the few cases where they appear in western art, were universally misunderstood. Some interesting misinterpretations of the motivation of the gesture are to be found, as where Salome, posed correctly, offers the Virgin a bowl,

---

[1] For illustration see: Alberto de Capitani d'Arzago, Gli affreschi di S. Maria di Castelseprio, Milan, 1948, pls. XLVIII, L, LI, LII.

[2] Illustrated in: Louis Weber, Einbanddecken, Elfenbeintafeln, Miniaturen, Schriftproben aus Metzer Liturgischen Handscriften, I. Jetzige Pariser Handschriften, Metz and Frankfurt, 1912, pl. IX.

[3] The crouching midwife does not occur in Greek manuscripts. (The New Testament-Psalter of the University of Chicago Library, Greg. 2400, ca. 1265, is a late exception.) She does not appear in the 10-11th c. frescoes of Cappadocia, even in the Gõreme and Qeledjlar chapels where the Bath of the Christchild is regularly included. She is almost never found in German illumination. The Drui Liet von der Maget, a 12-13th c. manuscript by Wernher von Tegernsee (Berlin, Staatsbibl., Germ. oct. 109, esp. fols. 68v and 69v, lost since World War II) is an important exception, but seems to have had little influence on the mainstream of German Marian iconography.

exception

carries the Child, or reaches toward the crib.[1] The Salome figure at Saint-Père is much closer to the Early Christian prototype in placement and posture than anything to be found in France for probably two hundred years.[2] The artist comprehended his model no more clearly than other gothic near-contemporaries. His Salome no longer supports one arm with the other, but presents them both in a gesture which seems to be one of supplication. It is nevertheless highly likely that he was working from a model of the eleventh century or before.[3]

---

[1] a) Psalter, Brit. Mus. Lansdowne 420, fol. 7v (early 13th c.), midwife offers the Virgin a bowl; b) Psalter, Pierpont Morgan 756, fol. 7r (13th c.), the midwife is nimbed; c) "Huth" psalter, Brit. Mus. Add. 38116, fol. 9v (after 1280), Salome grasps Virgin's left hand (British Museum, Catalogue of the Fifty Manuscripts and Printed Books Bequeathed to the British Museum by Aldred H. Huth, London, 1912, pl. 2(a)); d) fresco in nave, St. Clement, Ashampstead (13th c.), Salome extends hand toward the crib; e) Laon apse window (13th c.), Salome approaches bed carrying Child. On the Chartres frieze, west portal (mid 12th c.), and the Lyons Cathedral apse pilasters, capital 5 (2nd half 12th c.), the midwife extends her hands but no longer crouches, and the motivation of her gesture seems forgotten. Isolated examples can be found as late as the 14th c., although not in France.

[2] She is exactly reversed, but what the significance of this would be in the glass medium is unclear.

[3] The other possibilities would be that his source was textual, or was a gothic object such as those listed in footnote 1, p. 332, supra. However, the Saint-Père midwife is much closer to the Early Christian original type than to any of the other gothic variants.

fill in
fn. 1,
(same
page)

The abbey's period of aggrandisement in the tenth century[1] and its close connections with Rome during the twelfth-thirteenth centuries[2] make its possession of such an hypothetical object quite likely. There is evidence as well that the local nobility presented relics and treasures on their return from crusade.[3]

The Adoration of the Magi (Matthew II:9-11), which occupies the third row of the lancet, is on the other hand a work of its own time. The crowned Virgin is seated to the left, her Son standing on her knee before the Magi bearing gifts. The first magus, bearded and bareheaded, kneels before them; the second, youthful and crowned, points upward while turning back to the third king, also youthful and crowned, who raises his hand in a gesture of assent. The ground is filled with small roundels of fleurs-de-lys, castles and decorative floriate patterns. The scene is absolutely standard from the thirteenth century on. An early example can be found in the south choir of Chartres Cathedral (Bay 16)[1] and examples are common throughout the fourteenth and even into the fifteenth centuries. Balthazar, the second magus, is not negroid at Saint-Père nor in France generally until the early fifteenth century.[2]

---

[1] After Norman invasions of 857, 898 and 911, the abbey was restored and reformed under Bishops Aganon (926-41) and Rainfroi (941-55). A 10th c. inventory of its treasures exists (Chartres Bibl. ms. 31, 1-B) (see: F. de Mély, "Les Inventaires de l'abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, ser. 4, v. 4 (v. 36), July 1886, pp. 307-13; and more uncritically, Abbé Poisson, "Inventaire de Saint-Père," *Annales archéologiques*, v. 7, 1850, p. 190). The source for the abbey's early history is an 11th c. cartulary, "Aganon vetus" (Chartres Bibl. ms. 1060 is 12th c. copy; see Guérard, introd. pp. 9-10).

[2] Under Abbot Guillaume I (1101-29) two popes confirmed the abbey's possessions, and under Abbot Eudes (1130-50) the papal legate confirmed the right of the monks to elect their abbot. Abbot Gui I (1200-31) went to Rome in 1225. The Abbey was wealthy and influential in papal and court circles throughout the 12-13th c. See: Eugène Berger, "Etude historique et archéologique sur l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres," *Ecole nationale des Chartes, Positions des thèses*, 1913, pp. 12-13.

[3] See F. de Mély, "Les Inventaires de l'abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, ser. 4, v. 5 (v.37), January 1887, p. 64.

In row 4 is the Presentation in the Temple (Luke II: 22-38), also presented in customary thirteenth century form. Simeon, nimbed, bearded and barefoot, stands with veiled hands to the left of a draped altar. Mary, right, supports her Son who stands on the altar. Behind her to the right are the Prophetess Anne, nimbed, holding a candle and book, and another nimbed female figure holding a little basket with three doves. While the basket is a detail more common in manuscripts (especially psalters) and ivories than in monumental art, it does appear on rare occasions in stained glass, the most likely source being the Tours window (Virgin chapel, after 1250). In general the scene of the Presentation varied in the thirteenth century only in such details as the number of candles and doves and the presence or absence of Joseph among the witnesses. By the end of to the century it is perhaps more common to find Joseph, but exceptions are not rare. The fact that all four figures at Saint-Père are nimbed, while unusual, is not without local precedent, occurring in the Chartres south aisle window (Bay 16).

---

[1] Delaporte, Plates XXI, pl. XLVI.

[2] Mâle cites the earliest example to be the tympanum of the church of Thann, ca. 1355. The detail appears earlier in Germany than elsewhere. See: Mâle, XIII (1919 ed.), p. 256, n. 6.

The Virgin's story then skips from the Infancy scenes to the Death of the Virgin (Pl. 50a) occupying the top row and the two triangular panels of the ogive. An apocryphal story found in the Golden Legend,[1] it appears at Saint-Père in the standard gothic arrangement. The Virgin reclines in the foreground, surrounded by the twelve apostles. Behind her bed is Christ, holding the small figure of her soul in

---

[1] Voragine, v. 2, pp. 449ff; ANT, pp. 212-13.

His arms. Two censing angels hover above. While the scene itself was familiar, its use as the terminal episode in place of the more customary Coronation of the Virgin was unusual.

The episodes chosen to represent the life of Mary in the left lancet of Bay 19 are very much works of their time. The fact that many of them are found in similar form in the thirteenth century windows and sculpture of Chartres Cathedral indicates primarily that the Saint-Père artist was familiar with general thirteenth century practice, standardized during the High Gothic period. The stories of this lancet are much more in the mainstream of French gothic art than are those of the right lancet dealing with Joachim and Anne. They were not just idly repeated, however. Details, such as the basket of doves, are represented with care and precision. While the elevation of the Assumption scene to the position customarily occupied in such series by the Coronation is unusual, none of the iconographic details differ from standard usage of the thirteenth century.

None but the archaic midwife, of course. The crouching midwife of the Nativity is an anomaly, one which would seem to indicate the use of a model of much earlier date. To what ancient treasure in the abbey's possession could the artist have referred? It is fairly safe to say, at least, that it was not a product of gothic France.

B. Bay 23: Saints Clement and Denis

The two lancets of Bay 23 (Pl. 64) are the work of the same artist and have the same format, five rows of scenes under canopies, each row formed of two layers of panels. The window and its opposite on the north, Bay 22 (Pl. 58), suffered a dismantling and rearrangement in the eighteenth century (after 1672 and before the Revolution) which was not corrected until the restorations of 1906-08. To provide more light, the panels bordering the stonework were removed and replaced with clear glass (cf. Pl. 61).[1] Some of the removed panels were placed in unorganized confusion in windows of the ambulatory and apsidal chapels.[2] Eleven of them and the lights of the right ogive have been totally lost.[1] The task of replacing the existing removed panels in 1906-08 was facilitated, happily, by the artist's practice of extending forms across conjunctive panels. It thus can be assumed that most are now in their original relationships, although it is possible that whole rows may be out of order.

---

[1] Abbé Jean-Charles-Benjamin Poisson, Chroniques de l'abbaye royale de St.-Père-en-Vallée, Chartres, 1857, p. 422: ". . . les formes ont une large bande en verres blancs, ce qui rend les sujets incomplets. . . ."

[2] Arch. Phot. 196433 (Pl. 65) shows fragments of panels in an ambulatory window. Only one fragment (head of Denis pushed into furnace) appears to be a center (and not a border) panel. Its presence among the debris is not easily explained.

The choice of saints is significant. The inclusion of St. Denis, like the St. Louis in the apse and the arms of the house of Dreux in Bay 19, underlines the abbey's close connections with the royal family. Clement, pope and martyr, illustrates another, spiritual connection. The abbey is dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul,[2] whose story is illustrated in the nave clerestory bay directly opposite the Clement/Denis window (Bay 22). St. Denis was converted by St. Paul, and was sent to Gaul by Pope Clement. Clement himself had been converted to Christianity and consecrated by St. Peter. Thus Clement forms the logical link between the abbey's patron and name-saint Peter and St. Denis, first bishop of Paris and patron of the royal house of France.[1]

---

[1] The photograph taken after the ca. 1905 restoration (Mon. Hist. 196407) (Pl. 66) is more reliable than the photomontage (Pl. 64) made after the 1950's restorations, which omits several old panels (the 2 left tympanum panels, the left panel of row 4 of the Clement window) and includes one of the restoration panels inserted in the ca. 1905 restorations, that of the bottom right panel, right lancet.

[2] Although St. Paul's name is not included in that of the abbey, his patronage is informally assumed along with that of St. Peter. A seal of the abbey, appended to Arch. de l'Emp. J 227, no. 37, dated 1300, shows demi-figures of Peter and Paul rising from a cloud. Doüet d'Arcq, Collection de sceaux, v. 8, no. 8186.

St. Clement lancet

The forementioned theory provides the identification of the first scene of the Clement lancet, which has been a puzzle to authors. A seated pope with cross-staff and tiara[2] addresses three standing figures, i.e. a standing bishop with crozier and two tonsured monks.[3] All four figures are nimbed. The scene is St. Clement as pope sending Denis and his companions, the deacons Eleutherius and Rusticus, to Gaul, an extremely rare episode in monumental art. The presence of haloes on the two attending monks eliminates all possibility that Clement's consecration by St. Peter is intended.[4] The scene of Clement sending Denis

---

[1] Sts. Clement and Denis are found opposite each other on the Chartres south transept martyrs' portal; they are next to one another among the frescoes of the Sainte-Chapelle (although not in the same bay). (See: Robert Branner, *The Painted Medallions in the Ste.-Chapelle in Paris*, *American Philosophical Society Transactions*, no. 58, Philadelphia, 1968, fig. 1, p. 6). The expressed relationship to St. Peter, however, is to my knowledge otherwise unknown.

[2] It is distinguished from the bishops' mitres in the windows by a less angular silhouette and a small knob at the top.

[3] The head of the monk in the central panel is a restoration.

[4] See Roman representations of the Clement consecration by Peter: a) mutilated fresco in San Clemente, lower church, nave, ca. 1100, Clement in bishop's vestments is enthroned between Peter and some named Roman pope-saints (Cletus, Linus and others) (illustrated in J. Wilpert, *Mos. u. Mal.*, 1916, v. 4, pl. 240 (top)); b) Rome, Bibliotheca Vaticana, lat. 8541, Passional of 1st half 14th c., p. 59, Clement in tiara kneels before Peter and three men, two of whom are unnimbed bishops.

340

to Gaul can be found, exactly reversed, as fol. 34r of the Vita S. Dionysii executed at the Abbey of St.-Denis in 1250 (BN nouv. acq. fr. 1098).[1]

The scene is handled quite differently in the Vita S. Dionyssi written by the monk Yves and offered by the abbot of St.-Denis, Giles of Pontoise, to Philip the Tall in 1317 (BN fr. 2090-92, II, fols. 70v and 80v).[2] The iconographic formulae of the St. Denis legend changed radically between the early thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries, probably under the impact of the St.-Denis manuscripts. The Saint-Père window occupies a pivotal position in the change, sometimes adopting the traditional design and sometimes the new one.[3] The scene of the consecration of the saint by Clement clearly follows the 1250 model.

The second row of the Clement lancet shows another uncommon scene, that of the saint's exile to the Crimea. Clement, standing in his boat, preaches to a group of men.

---

[1] Illustrated in: Paris, Bibl. Nat., Dept. des Manuscrits, _Vie et histoire de Saint Denys_, pref. by Henri Omont, Paris, 1905, pl. VI (cited hereafter as Omont).

[2] For BN fr. 2090-92, refer to facsimile edition, Henry Martin, _Légende de saint Denis_, Paris, 1908.

[3] This idea will be pursued in the discussion of the St. Denis lancet of Bay 23, infra.

The subject is almost unknown in French art.[1]

The following scene is a more common one in Clement cycles, that of the Miracle of the Spring. According to legend Clement was condemned to break stones in a quarry. His companions were dying of thirst. Clement invoked the Lamb of God who scratched the ground until a spring burst from the rock. The Saint-Père window, of which the left panel is missing, shows Clement (now largely lost) striking the rock with his pick at the spot indicated by the Lamb (nimbed with cruciferous halo). Four companions watch in amazement as the spring gushes forth. The quarry pick is an unusual detail, but otherwise the Saint-Père panels follow the customary arrangement of the popular scene.

The two panels remaining of the fourth row are more puzzling. They are out of place in any case, and the left panel of the row is lost. The most supportable assumption would be that the scene represented is a rare episode in the Clement legend which occurred before his exile. He had converted a woman named Theodora, whose husband Sisinius was furious and tried to prevent their entering the church.

---

[1] The only example I know of is the 13th c. choir window of St. Kunibert (formerly St. Clement) in Cologne, where Trajan is included as well. The window is illustrated in Heinrich Oidtmann, *Die Rheinischen Glasmalereien vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, 1912, v. I, pl. VII and figs. 99 and 100.

Sisinius ✓

Sisinius was thereupon struck blind and had to be led away by a servant. The episode ended as Sisinius ordered his servants to bind Clement and they, having also been blinded, bound up a column by mistake. Much as the story resembles such popular thirteenth century fictions as the defeat of Simon Magus by Peter, it was almost unknown in French art.[1] It is found in fragments of a Roman fresco dating ca. 1100, in the nave of the lower church of San Clemente,[2] as follows: Zone 2 shows Clement near an altar, donors and clergy, and Theodora at mass. Next to her a servant leads away the blind Sisinius. Zone 3 shows the epilogue, omitted at Saint-Père, in which the blind servants bind up a column in place of the saint.

Is the inclusion of this story, like the midwife of the Nativity of Bay 19, evidence of Roman early medieval iconography somehow reaching Saint-Père? Probably not. The midwife was a pictorial detail borrowed without understanding; the Clement scene was comprehended and translated into contemporary dress. Theodora kneels praying in the central panel, while behind her two servants support her blind husband. In the right panel a servant leads Sisinius away. The lost left panel probably showed Clement at the altar. The artist has given the husband and wife French caps which tie under the chin, of types common in Parisian thirteenth century manuscripts. Sisinius, moreover, carries a glove, customary gothic mark of a figure of noble status.[1] The most likely assumption is that the Saint-Père artist constructed the scene from a textual account.[2]

---

[1] It does not occur at St. Kunibert, Cologne, either (see note supra).

[2] Illustrated in J. Wilpert, Mos. u. Mal., IV, pl. 240.

Although the final row has lost two of its three panels, the central remaining panel clearly formed part of the familiar martyrdom scene of Clement, in which the saint is thrown overboard with an anchor about his neck. The customary formula shows a boat in the water, from which two men throw the saint headfirst, a millstone or anchor tied to his neck.[3] In the remaining Saint-Père panel can be seen

---

[1] The device is common in gothic art. A few of the kings and courtiers in the Saint-Père nave hold gloves. See: Bay 26, right lancet, fourth row from bottom; Bay 22, right lancet, third row from bottom.

[2] See Voragine, v..2, pp. 703ff.

[3] The anchor is found almost as often as the millstone and seems to be more frequent in later examples. Examples of anchors: Chartres, relief of south porch; window in St. Kunibert, Cologne, 13th c. (scene identification questionable); and fresco in the nuns' choir, convent church of Wienhausen, 14th c. (illustrated in Oskar Beyer, Norddeutsche Gotische Malerei, Braunschweig, 1924, fig. 22).

344

the head of Clement attached to the anchor. Issuing from the clouds above is the blessing hand of God in a cruciferous halo. Behind the saint's head is the prow of a boat and below him the waves of the sea.

To the lower left are the legs and feet of a figure crouched on one knee. This figure is in an impossible sideways position. Even allowing for the extreme posture distortions of which the artist of Bay 23 was capable--note, for example, the incredible position of the executioner in the Denis lancet, fourth row from bottom--the crouching figure seems to be turned 45-65°. As the panel was not among those removed and then returned to the window,[1] and is not heavily restored,[2] it must be allowed that the figure has not been rotated.

It therefore seems likely that the crouching figure does not represent one of the men who heave Clement from the boat, but is a reference to another story. One of the most prominent episodes from the Clement legend concerns a submarine chapel built for the saint's body by angels.[3]

---

[1] It was described in the window by 19th c. authors: Poisson, p. 422; Bulteau, p. 296.

[2] The most sizeable restoration is above the central horizontal iron, to the left, in the red ground.

[3] Voragine, v. 2, p. 706. Examples in art: Chartres, south porch, console under statue of St. Clement; window of St. Kunibert, Cologne, 13th c.

Annually on the anniversary of his martyrdom the sea receded to allow the faithful to visit the chapel. One year a woman who had made the pilgrimage with her son left him sleeping there by mistake. The boy was found safely sleeping in the chapel the following year. Could the questionable figure be the boy lying on his back with one knee bent? If so the submarine chapel would have appeared, most probably, in the left hand panel of the row.

Generally speaking in the narrative windows of Saint-Père posthumous miracles, no matter how important a place they customarily occupy in a saint's legend, are omitted or minimized. The submarine chapel of St. Clement provides a case in point. One of the major episodes of the legend, it was either completely absent or at best telescoped into a single (now lost) panel.

The two triangular panels of the tympanum contain two angels holding the martyr's beatified soul in a cloth. The format and angels are original; the soul was redesigned in the 1950's by François Lorin to replace a previous restoration in a different style.[1]

---

[1] The new design was made on the advice of the Canon Delaporte, according to M. Lorin.

St. Denis lancet

The life of St. Denis is a much more frequent subject for art in France than the Clement legend. The choice of scenes and their manner of representation changed radically during the thirteenth century, as a comparison of an early cycle such as the Bourges window[1] with some of the fourteenth century ivories[2] will reveal. It seems likely that the manuscripts produced at the Abbey of St.-Denis during the period were largely responsible for the changes. The Saint-Père window, because it sometimes maintains the older traditions and sometimes adopts the new, is an important monument in the study of the St. Denis iconography.

The bottom most row of the lancet is the only one where the precise subject is unclear. Five standing haloed

---

[1] Bourges Cathedral, chevet, Lady of Lourdes chapel (illustrated in S. Clement and A. Guitard, Vitraux de Bourges, Bourges, 1900, pl. XIV; top of window illustrated in Martin-Cahier, pl. XII). The window is heavily damaged; among the original scenes are several with Paul in Athens, Denis as bishop preaching, Denis thrown into prison, Denis in the furnace, Denis in prison flanked by two animals (dogs? lions?), Denis receiving host from Christ in prison, Denis beheaded, Eleutherius and Rusticus kneeling before executioner, the same disciples headless, Denis walking with head.

[2] See: Raymond Koechlin, Les Ivoires gothiques français, Paris, 1926, v. 2, pl. LXXIX and no. 345.

347

figures appear, the central one a bishop with crozier and mitre.[1] The left figure stands alone, his hands crossed on his breast in a gesture of humility (St. Denis being attacked by the crowd in the second row makes a similar gesture). The next figure attends the bishop, who makes the gesture of benediction. As the bishop's face is a restoration it is now impossible to tell which way he was looking. The right-hand group, which alas! has lost its lower panel,[2] originally may have provided the key to identification, as across the shoulder of the inner figure can be seen part of a curious object. A basket? Pieces of rope or chain?

The bishop is probably St. Denis, who appears thus throughout the lancet. Two of the four saints are probably his companions. The usual introductory scenes in St. Denis cycles either represent an aspect of his conversion by Paul in Athens (Bourges window), his consecration as bishop by

---

[1] Although all three panels contain much restoration, all five haloes appear to be original.

[2] The panel now in that place (see Arch. Phot. photomontage, pl. 64) is a restoration of the 1950's. In the previous restoration of ca. 1905 the light was filled with scraps of wide, early 13th c. border (see Pl. 66, Arch. Phot. 196407).

348

Paul and John (mid-fourteenth century ivory diptych, Cluny Museum),[1] or his consecrating an altar. The episode of Denis consecrating an altar in the presence of the two tonsured disciples and another monk is found in the 1250 manuscript of the Vita S. Dionysii (BN Nouv. acq. fr. 1098, fol. 36r).[2] It occurs in the same relative position in the manuscript, i.e. between the scene of Clement sending Denis and his companions to Gaul (fol. 34r.; row 1 of Clement lancet immediately adjacent) and that of Denis preaching (fol. 37v.; Denis lancet, row 2). Furthermore the manuscript's iconographic formats for the episodes of fol. 34r. and 37v. have been employed in the Saint-Père window. If the subject of row 1 was indeed derived from fol. 36r., the altar which in the manuscript appeared between the two disciples (right) and Denis and a monk (left) would have been squeezed in front of the disciples occupying the lost lower right panel. As the left two haloes are unexplained it is not a completely satisfying thesis.

---

[1] Koechlin, v. 2, pl. LXXIX and no. 345.

[2] See: Omont, pl. VIII.

Fol. 38 of the same manuscript shows St. Denis charging Sts. Sanctin and Antonin with writing his story and sending it to the Pope. Denis sits left, his disciples Eleutherius and Rusticus behind him; Sanctin and Antonin stand to the right, one of them in a bishop's mitre and crozier.[1] The format does not match Saint-Père but at least all five figures are saints.

The second row contains two episodes, the familiar one of St. Denis preaching in Paris (left) and Denis being attacked by the angry mob (right). The former episode was popular in the thirteenth century, being included in both the St. Denis-de-Jouhet (Indre)[2] and Bourges windows and in the Tours choir clerestory. The source for Saint-Père seems to have been the 1250 manuscript (fol. 37v., top)[3] where the format of the draped altar and the listeners seated on low rocks seems to have been introduced.[1] The Saint-Père artist has followed the manuscript closely in general layout and in some details, notably the listening figure inclining his head on one hand. The gestures of the saint and his companions, however, are much closer to the 1317 manuscript (BN fr. 2090-92, I, fol. 85v.).[2] where the figure head-on-hand is included in reverse. In v. II, fol. 111r., also a preaching scene, the listening figure is not reversed but the gesture of the disciple varies. The Saint-Père artist seems to have combined details from both folios.

---

[1] Omont, pl. X.

[2] Albert Mayeux, "Vitraux de Saint-Denis de Jouhet (Indre)," Bulletin monumental, v. 82, 1923, pp. 181-84.

[3] Tours shows no influence of the manuscript at all. The earlier tradition placed St. Denis customarily to the left and the crowd to the right. At Bourges he stands behind a pulpit.

The Saint-Père artist also took advantage of the empty space above the seated listening figures in the manuscript folios to squeeze in part of another connected but less well-known episode, that of Denis and his companions being attacked by the mob (or by soldiers). The Golden

---

[1] The draped altar was abandoned during the fourteenth century. See: marble relief from Saint-Denis, 2nd half 14th c., in the Louvre (Inv. R.F. #462), illustrated in Paris, Musée du Louvre, Description raisonnée des sculptures du moyen âge, de la Renaissance et des temps modernes, Paris, 1950, v. 1, p. 131 and fig. 188.

[2] In the 1250 manuscript the saint assumes a frontal, almost symmetrical, orant position.

Legend[1] states that although the pagan priests stirred the mob to riot, the people either fled or fell at the saint's feet. The prefect then ordered the saints bound. At Saint-Père two figures raise sticks in their hands to attack St. Denis, hands crossed on his breast, and his companions, one of whom clasps his hands in prayer. Noone is fleeing or kneeling. It is a rare scene in art, not included in any of the thirteenth century windows, the later ivories or in the 1250 manuscript which influenced many of the scenes at Saint-Père. The source seems to be, rather, the 1317 manuscript (v. II, fol. 130v), where a group of figures sits on the ground to the left while Denis and his disciples, behind a draped altar to the right, are being seized by armed soldiers. One soldier raises his hand to strike the saint. The folio follows one of the preaching scenes in the manuscript (II, fol. 111r.) with which the Saint-Père artist was undoubtedly familiar. Although the attacking men in the Denis lancet are not uniformed as soldiers they do resemble the prefect's men represented in the following row of the lancet.

---

[1] Voragine, v. 2, p. 620.

352

Row 3 presents the flagellation of Denis and his companions by the prefect's guards. The saint, in loincloth and mitre, lies stomach-down on a sloping plank, while Eleutherius and Rusticus, also nude to the waist, stand bound to the right. Three men scourge them with knobby rods. The episode of the sloping plank, absent from thirteenth century windows, was familiar to the fourteenth century.[1] Although it appears, perhaps for the first time, in the 1250 manuscript (fol. 40r.), the inclusion of the disciples at Saint-Père seems to indicate that the source was rather the 1317 manuscript. On III, fol. 16v., all three saints are scourged on sloping planks; on III, fol. 10v. and fol. 42r., all three are scourged standing nude, arms bound. The Saint-Père artist has combined the two types.

Two more episodes are telescoped in Row 5. To the left a figure shoves the saint head-first into a fiery furnace. In the right panel two mad dogs rush into a crenellated building (doubtless the prison) from outside. In the saint's legend the latter scene, Denis' exposure to wild beasts, occurs first. After he had driven them off with the sign of the cross he was thrown into the furnace. Both episodes maintained a continuous popularity in art while changing format radically between the early thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

---

[1] Examples: a) ivory diptych, Cluny Museum (Koechlin, v. 2, pl. LXXIX); b) ivory diptych (authenticity questioned), 2nd half 14th c., Munich, Mus. National (MA 2031, 2032) (illustrated in: Munich, Bayerisches national-museum, Die bildwerke des Bayerischen nationalmuseums (Kataloge des Bayerischen nationalmuseums, v. XIII, pt. 4), Augsburg, 1926, pl. 22 (#46).

The early type of 'test of the wild beasts' showed the saint and several animals inside the prison. The quiet, formal composition of Bourges shows St. Denis flanked by two animals within a crenellated brick edifice. At St. Denis-de-Jouhet the animals (a winged lion and a beast with flames emerging from its mouth) rush forth from a furnace. In the fourteenth century the scene was moved outdoors and a new format, which had been introduced in the 1250 manuscript (fol. 41v.), crystallized.[1] Denis is seated nude to the left, out-of-doors, confronting wild beasts. In the 1317 manuscript the new figure arrangement is employed but in the traditional interior background, oddly enough.[2]

The Saint-Père panel is also a compromise, the animals rushing into the prison interior from a verdant landscape barely visible through the door. They are mad dogs like those of the 1250 manuscript rather than the hairy leonine monsters popular later on.[1] The saint himself is omitted!

---

[1] Omont, pl. XIII. See ivory diptychs of 14th c. (footnote 1, pg. 352, supra).

fill in fn. 1 p. 352

[2] There is no doubt that the scene takes place inside, as the back wall is brick, and an executioner places his key in the lock of the prison door to the left.

The second scene, the episode of the fiery furnace, is more completely illustrated. In this instance the Saint-Père composition reproduces the arrangement seen in thirteenth century windows (Bourges, St. Denis-de-Jouhet, Tours) rather than the formula which appears in both of the St. Denis manuscripts and thereafter in the fourteenth century.[2] Mayeux states that the scene has its source in older chronicles.[3] To the right is the furnace. Denis in bishop's vestments and mitre is being pushed headfirst into its mouth by an executioner.

---

[1] The 1250 text refers specifically to lions:

"His Dominum laudans orat, datus esca ferarum,
Et sanctis precibus feritas manusuescit earum;
Tanquam cognoscat nature lege patronum,
Supplicat ut poscat veniuam sibi turba leonum."

The animals pictured, however, like the Saint-Père creatures, are distinctly short-haired canines. Réau reports that St. Denis was invoked against the bites of mad dogs, which were treated by touching them with his chains preserved at Saint-Denis-de-la-Chartre in Paris (Réau, v. 3, pt. 1, p. 376). Voragine, v. 2, p. 620, states 'savage beasts.'

[2] In the later version the saint is seated nude inside the furnace. See: 1250 mss., fol. 41v (Omont, pl. XIII); 1317 mas. (III, fol. 28r); Cluny and Munich ivories.

[3] Mayeux, pp. 181-84. He also states that it is absent from the Golden Legend. But see Voragine, v. 2, p. 620: "Then he was cast into an oven, but the fire was extinguished."

The final row, which has lost the lefthand panel, presents Eleutherius and Rusticus kneeling in prayer, nimbed but headless (right panel), and Denis standing in formal frontal pose, also nimbed but headless, holding before him his fully mitred head. The kneeling disciples are similar to those found in the 1317 manuscript (III, fol. 48v.), where they flank the kneeling saint. The central panel of St. Denis himself, however, more closely follows the monumental art tradition than the narrative one.

The figure of St. Denis 'head in hands' is very familiar in French gothic statuary. Occasionally during the thirteenth century the cephalophore carries only his cranium[1] according to an older tradition.[2] He does so, in fact, in a missal of the usage of Saint-Père of the first half fourteenth century (Chartres, Bibl. ms. 519, fol. 219r.).[1] By the fourteenth century, however, the new version, in which the whole head is cut off, was much more common. The full mitred head appears in both the 1250 and 1317 manuscripts.[2] The saint in the Saint-Père window does not walk with his head, as in manuscripts and window medallions of the thirteenth century. Rather he stands holding his head as an attribute, very much in the manner of a jamb statue or devotional statuette.

---

[1] See: windows of Saint-Denis-de-Jouhet and Tours Cathedral; possibly, a mutilated statue (ca. 1260-65) from Notre-Dame, south portal (deposited in 1950 from Cluny Museum to Musée de l'oeuvre, Notre-Dame; illustrated in Geneviève Souchal, "Un reliquaire de la Sainte-chapelle. . . ," *Revue des arts, la revue de Louvre et des musées de France*, v. 10, 1960, fig. 4, pp. 188-89 and n. 39). The cephalophore with cranium at Chartres (relief, south porch, south side of pier I) is probably not Denis but the local saint Chéron.

[2] Mayeux (p. 183 and n. 1) maintains that only at the very end of the 12th c., and especially after the Golden Legend, does one find the whole head. The earlier tradition is found in chronicles such as that of Hilduin, 840 A.D. (which seems to be the earliest to speak of cranium only) and Usuard, d. 876 (Martyrology of the usage of Saint-Germain-des-Prés).

The glass which originally filled the tympanum of the Denis lancet has been lost. It is a fair assumption that it showed a composition of angels bearing a soul or souls in a cloth, as in the Clement lancet. In the 1317 manuscript (III, fol. 48v.) the souls of Denis, Eleutherius and Rusticus are born to heaven in a cloth.

In choosing episodes of the saint's legend for illustration the Saint-Père artist completely omitted several major incidents. The most important of these are the martyrdom on the grill, the miraculous Last Communion in prison, and the saint's headless march up the hill of Montmartre guided by angels. The first of these scenes, although included in the 1317 manuscript (III, fol. 22v.), was losing popularity by the fourteenth century. The last, the headless march, was probably deleted in accordance with a general prejudice which can be noted at Saint-Père against post-mortem miracles. The artist probably decided against the miraculous communion because it lacked drama. Space was at a premium in his lancet, and the Clement-Denis master tended to reduce his materials as much as possible to dramatic symbols.

---

[1] Destroyed in World War II. See Canon Yves Delaporte, *Les Manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres*, Chartres, 1929, p. 93.

[2] 1250 manuscript, fol. 44 (Omont, pl. XVI); 1317 mss. (III, fol. 53v). See also: mutilated quatrefoil relief from Saint-Denis, mid-14th c. (Louvre, Inv. N. 15006) (illustrated in Paris, Musée du Louvre, *Description raisonnée des sculptures du moyen âge*. . . , Paris, 1960, v. 1, pp. 130ff. and fig. 187).

There remain, nevertheless, countless similarities in detail between the Saint-Père window and the 1250 and 1317 manuscripts which would indicate that the artist worked from such narrative sources. Was it actually the manuscripts in question, or some secondary source?[1] The important standing of the Abbey of Saint-Père at the turn of the fourteenth century and its connections with Philippe-le-Bel[1] make it altogether possible that the Saint-Père artist was actually sent to the Abbey of Saint-Denis to see the miniatures of the 1317 manuscript before its completion. The manuscript, composed by the monk Yves under the direction of Abbot Gilles de Pontoise and intended for presentation to Philippe-le-Bel, was unfinished at his death in 1314. His son King Louis died June 5, 1316, and it was his second son Philippe-le-Long to whom the manuscript was finally presented in 1317. It had remained in the workshop long enough for a French translation to be inserted on interpolated leaves after its completion, presumably because the new king could not read Latin. The miniatures would therefore have been available for viewing over a considerable period of time before the manuscript entered the king's library. The connection between the window and the 1317 manuscript in particular raises many interesting questions about the manner in which the influence of such an important work was disseminated throughout the contemporary artistic world.

---

[1] There is at least one probable copy of the 1317 manuscript in existence, BN lat. 5286. See William Hinkle, "The Iconography of the Four Panels by the Master of Saint Giles," Journal of the Warburg-Courtauld Institutes, v. 28, 1965, p. 113.

Latin

---

[1] See discussion Chapters I and VI.

359

In each row of the window the artist has telescoped details from several manuscript folios. His compositions, as a result, are often difficult to sort out iconographically although usually quite successful as visual arrangements. The second row is an example where the combination of scenes produced a terrible muddle, particularly in the central panel where details of the two episodes overlap. The fourth row and remaining panels of the fifth, on the other hand, are clear, balanced compositions which suit their exalted position in the clerestory. To achieve dramatic simplicity, narrative details had to be eliminated to such an extent that the episodes have been reduced almost to symbols. Two savage beasts rush through a door; the saint's headless companions kneel in prayer.

It is interesting to note how the dramatic and symbolic qualities of the scenes increase as the legend moves ahead. The artist apparently designed the episodes in sequence and learned much about clerestory window design in the process. There is nothing dramatic about the first row, nor is there much economy about the more dramatic scenes of row 2. By the third row the glass designer had hit his stride. The top three rows of the Denis lancet are

360

among the finest achievements of the church, not only because their drama and sweep suit their high placement but because the borrowed compositions have not only been successfully transplanted but invested with new life.

C. Bay 27: Saints Agnes and Catherine

The final narrative bay on the south side of the nave is devoted to the two virgin saints Agnes and Catherine (Pl. 80). With the exceptions of the Virgin and St. Anne they are the only female saints represented in the church. Female saints generally speaking were unpopular at the abbey. In a lost missal of the usage of Saint-Père made at about the same time as the windows only Anne, Agnes and Soline were included.[1] There is nothing unusual about the selection of Agnes and Catherine, they and a third virgin Cecilia being the most universally popular female saints in medieval art. They clearly personify virginity at Saint-Père, Agnes the simple innocent and Catherine the wise intellectual.

---

[1] Chartres, Bibl. mun. ms. 519, 1st half 14th c. (destroyed in World War II). St. Soline was a local virgin whose relics rested in Saint-Père.

361

Bay 27 suffered relatively little from the displacements and rearrangements visited upon much of the nave glass. Except for minor restorations such as heads throughout the window, only the lower row of the Catherine lancet seems to have suffered a notable loss. Its central panel and the upper light of the left panel are missing.[1] Moreover it seems likely that the lower right panels of the two lancets have been interchanged. They would be more logical iconographically if exchanged, and the hairstyles of the saints would conform within the lancet. The head (original) in the panel presently in the Agnes lancet resembles the head (original) in the Catherine lancet, row 2, right. Note the flowing uncovered hair and downturned mouth.[2] The head of the panel presently in the Catherine lancet unfortunately is new, but is draped with the same white mantle found in all the original Agnes heads: Agnes lancet, row 1, left; row 2, right, only part of head original; row 3 (old glass but features probably repainted); row 4 (part of face and neck new but mantle original).

---

[1] Both lights are shown blocked with cartons in Arch. Phot. 196437, a photograph probably taken at the time of the ca. 1905 restorations (pl. 79). The glass now filling the panels (see photomontage, pl. 80) is of a style typical of the restorations of that time.

[2] Catherine's heads in rows 3 and 4 (center) are modern.

362

St. Agnes lancet

Although St. Agnes enjoyed a universal popularity in medieval times the standing figure of the saint was much more common than her legend in art. It is therefore the Golden Legend rather than thirteenth century monuments which offers the most complete contemporary version of the legend for comparison with Saint-Père. The Greek and Latin traditions of the Agnes legend differed significantly in such details as the saint's age and the method of her martyrdom. Parts of each were adopted by Voragine, and the Saint-Père window follows him rather closely.

If the panels in the lower rows were interchanged in the manner suggested above, the lower row of the Agnes lancet would illustrate the episode of Agnes refusing the offer of jewels by the prefect's son Procopius (right--now in Catherine lancet), his father Symphronius calling on her in his son's behalf (center), and Agnes thereafter being seized by his guard (left).[1] The latter wears a knee-length robe of the type seen on servants and executioners (cf. longer robes of prefect's son and his companions, row 3). The brick building shown at the border of the left panel is

---

[1] The guard's head is a restoration.

363

probably the proconsul's tribunal to which Agnes is taken.

Row 2 illustrates two episodes. To the right Agnes and the guard appear before the prefect, who offers her the choice of sacrificing to Vesta or being locked in a brothel. To the left is the Miracle of the Hair. Agnes stands clothed only in her ankle-length blonde hair, between an astonished guard and a crenellated brick building representing the brothel (or the tribunal?). Both episodes are drawn from the Golden Legend. Although in art Agnes and the prefect are not customarily shown in confrontation twice, Voragine clearly states that the prefect called on the maiden in his son's behalf.[1] Unable to convince her to marry his son he then employed a more official manner of coercion. It would appear that the Saint-Père artist has interpreted the text in showing the prefect's actions as a father (1st row center) and as a governmental authority (second row, right) separately. The Légende dorée also popularized the Miracle of the Hair, which is not mentioned in the Greek version of Agnes' life and did not become common in art until much later (see Agnes window of Saint-Merry,

---

[1] Voragine, v. 1, p. 111. He does not clearly differentiate between this personal visit and a more formal confrontation, however.

Paris, ca. 1520).[1] A comparison of the Saint-Père lancet with other rare gothic examples of the Agnes legend[2] shows how much more closely it follows the Voragine text.

The following three rows illustrate three more episodes as related in the Golden Legend. Row 3 takes place in the bordello where the prefect's son and his friends have followed Agnes. The saint stands, miraculously clothed by angels, to the right. The young man, attended by his friends, lies prostrate in the central panel, having been throttled by the devil the instant he entered the room. The precise moment depicted is that of his resuscitation. Agnes raises her hand in benediction and the youth's eyes are open. The Saint-Père artist has followed Voragine except in the detail of the dazzling white not being an easy effect to manage in stained glass.

---

[1] VF, fig. 193.

[2] Examples of Agnes legend: a) fresco, nave of Santa Maria di Donna Regina, Naples, first half 14th c.; b) enamel cup, British Museum, late 14th c. (illustrated in British Museum, Dept. of British and Mediaeval Antiquities, A Guide to the Mediaeval Room and to the Specimens of Mediaeval and Later Times in the Gold Ornament Room, Oxford, 1907, fig. 171 and pp. 122, 236).

His Agnes wears gold.[1]

In the fourth row Agnes has been thrown into the fire, flames of which are dividing and burning the pagans instead. She kneels in prayer in the central panel between flames which are quite literally divided, while fire consumes two standing youths on either side. In the final row an executioner thrusts a dagger into her throat (central panel) while the seated prefect and an attendant (his son?) observe on the right and two youthful witnesses stand to the left.

In the lancet's tympanum are two censing angels matching a similar pair in the Catherine lancet. In both pairs the outer angels are original, the inner ones handsome modern designs by François Lorin (see Pl. 78a, b), the church's present restorer. Previously (see Pl. 79), the two medieval angels had been combined in the lights of the Catherine ogive and the Agnes ogive filled with a simple diaper not of medieval origin.[2]

---

[1] Minor figures do occasionally wear white or near-white in the bay, for instance the two angels of the tympana, occasional guards and executioners. The friend standing behind the throttled Procopius in row 3 wears a white tunic under a dark cloak lined in gold.

[2] Bulteau (p. 295) refers to two censing angels in the Catherine lancet in 1850: "enfin deux autres anges l'encensent." The diaper remained in the Agnes tympanum until World War II.

Jacopus da Voragine was born in Genoa in 1228-30 and spent his life in religious orders in northern Italy, dying in 1298. A French translation of his 'Legenda sanctorum' (for example BN ms. fr. 183, dated 1300-20) existed by the early fourteenth century. The Agnes lancet of Saint-Père appears to be an early example of its direct influence.

St. Catherine lancet

Complete cycles of the legend of St. Catherine are less rare in French gothic art than those of Agnes. Catherine's story was occasionally represented in conjunction with that of St. Margaret, as at Chartres[1] and later in the century in medallions at Fécamp and in the east window of Dol (Ille-et-Vilaine). Other cycles in glass are found at

---

[1] Bay 26, south apse (Delaporte, Plates I, pls. LXVIII-LXIX).

[2] La Trinité, Fécamp (Seine-Maritime), ca. 1280. Until the CVMA volume by Jean Lafond on Normandy appears see his brief summary in "Les Vitraux de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Fécamp," ch. XLVIII of *L'Abbaye benedictine de Fécamp, ouvrage scientifique du XIIIe centenaire*, 1961, v. 3, pp. 99-101, notes pp. 254-55, and pl. opp. p. 100.

Angers[1] and at Rouen.[2] The Saint-Père lancet, which is complete except for portions of the first row, presents the story in its regular thirteenth century form. The most unusual feature of the iconography is the absence of any reference to the wheel torture, the well-known episode of the legend which produced the attribute usually carried by St. Catherine.

---

[1] Nave, third window on north side, now dated by Hayward and Grodecki ca. 1190. For illustrations: VF, fig. 72 (top three medallions); Jane Hayward and Louis Grodecki, "Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers," *Bulletin monumental*, v. 124, January-March, 1966, fig. p. 19.

[2] Ritter, pl. I (first half 13th c.).

The bottom row of the lancet has lost its central panel and the upper light of the left panel.[1] The right panel should probably be interchanged with the panel in the same position in the Agnes lancet, which shows a standing nimbed female figure with uncovered hair. The subject of the row may have been Catherine disputing with the Emperor Maxentius,[2] a frequent introductory scene (see Chartres Bay 26, Fécamp, Dol).

A suggested reconstruction of the original layout of the row would be:

a) right panel: Catherine disputing (the standing saint now in the Agnes lancet).[3]

b) central panel (lost): Emperor Maxentius enthroned?

c) left panel: two witnesses or guards (upper light modern).

---

[1] Both are now filled with restorations.

[2] In 1850, before the current restorations and rearrangements were made, Bulteau (p. 295) described the subjects of the lancet as: "la vierge d'Alexandrie dispute contre l'empereur Maximin (row 1); elle dispute contre les philosophes en presence de l'empereur (row 2); les philosophes convertis par la savante vierge sont jetés dans les flammes (row 3). . . ."

[3] The head is original. There are large areas of restoration in the panel, notably in the lower right.

Row two illustrates the scene following the confrontation with Maxentius, i.e. Catherine's dispute with, and conversion of, the fifty philosophers. She sits to the right, the emperor left, and the group of philosophers between them. All three panels are in excellent condition.[1]

The episode is concluded in Row 3 where, in the presence of the Emperor (left) and the praying Catherine (right), an executioner thrusts the converted philosophers into the fire. The scene of the burning of the defeated philosophers enjoyed a constant popularity in gothic art, no less in the fourteenth century than earlier.

The fourth row presents Catherine in prison accompanied by an angel (center), converting her two visitors, the Empress Faustina and Porphyrius, captain of the guard (right). The space is shared by another scene, that of Catherine's beheading (left). Both episodes were standard in Catherine cycles. That of the prison visit varies in detail, but the gesture of the executioner grasping Catherine's hair appears in such disparate examples as Chartres Cathedral (Bay 26) and the Queen Mary Psalter about a century later (Brit. Mus. Roy. 2B, VII, fol. 283v.).

---

[1] The only restoration is in the lower right light.

The final episode of the lancet is that of angels carrying Catherine's body and soul to Mt. Sinai. Although the tradition that the head and body were carried separately sometimes appears in art[1] the entire body, as at Saint-Père, is found occasionally.[2] In later art the scene was often reduced to the two angels bearing the soul.

The two unusual features about the Catherine lancet are a) the total absence of reference to the wheel torture and b) the importance accorded the episode of the philosophers (two complete rows out of five). The former seems especially surprising when one considers that the wheel torture had, by the end of the thirteenth century, provided the saint with an easily recognizable attribute which was to remain constant for centuries to come. The wheel torture is found in cycles as early as the Angers window (ca. 1190)[3] and by the date of the Saint-Père clerestory examples of the wheel as attribute are current.[1] A gothic cycle omitting the wheel episode is rare indeed.[2] The Saint-Père artist not only deleted the wheel torture but the torture by beating as well.

---

[1] See Angers window. See also a Rhenish legendarium, Oxford, Keble Coll., fol. 273v (2nd half 13th c.), where the headless body sits with the head in its lap (illustrated in Hanns Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierton handscriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau*, Berlin, 1936, pl. 67 (fig. 385))

[2] See: Queen Mary Psalter, Brit. Mus., Roy. 2B, VII, fol. 284r (Sir George Warner, introd., *Queen Mary's Psalter*, London, 1912, pl. 278b); wax stamp of Thomas de Garton, 1329, London, Public Record Office WS. 19.

[3] See also: a) east window, West Horseley church (Surrey), ca. 1210-25 (Herbert Read, John Baker and Alfred Lammer, *English Stained Glass*, London, 1960, pl. X); b) Rouen, 1st half 13th c. (Ritter, pl. 1); c) Chartres Cathedral, Bay 26.

allotted The space he gained thereby was allotted to the debate between the virgin saint and the fifty philosophers. Catherine was esteemed as a dialectician in gothic France, even appearing on the seal of the Sorbonne. Although the lancet contains no hint of a donor the stress given to this side of her character seems to reflect the wishes of a theologian-donor connected with the cathedral school in Chartres. Such a benefactor was the Canon Nicolas de Maison-Maugis, known by documents to have given the sizable sum of 300 Chartrain livres during the first decade of the fourteenth century to provide windows for the nave of Saint-Père.[3] There is, unfortunately, nothing but iconographic evidence to support a specific connection of the Catherine-Agnes window with the Canon's benefaction.

---

[1] The earliest I know of is in St. Kunibert, Cologne, north wall of transept, ca. 1220-30.

[2] Two examples can be cited: a) psalter, from Augsburg Cathedral library (Aug. Eccl. 200), now in Munich, Lib. Staatsbibl., Clm. 3900 (2nd half 13th c.); fols. lv-7r (see Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierton handscriften*, figs. 957-68); b) wing of tabernacle attributed to school of Abruzzi, 14th c., in Museo Aquilano, in Aquila degli Abruzzi (the torture by beating, absent at Saint-Pere, is included here).

[3] See discussion in Chapter I.

D. Bay 18: Passion of Christ

The story of the sacrifice of Christ occupies both lancets of Bay 18 (Pl. 47), commencing in the lower row of the left lancet and running bottom to top through five rows and the tympanum of both lancets. The window is beautifully preserved and its coloring and architectural decoration mark it as the most advanced work, stylistically, in the church. All the more striking on that account is the iconography, in most cases traditional or even *retardataire* for its date. The artist seems to have followed closely a model which, on the evidence of several details, may have been a pen-illuminated manuscript of the late twelfth to mid-thirteenth century.

The scenes of Bay 18 run as follows:

Left lancet: Row 1 - Entry to Jerusalem
Row 2 - Last Supper
Row 3 - Betrayal and cutting of Malchus' ear
Row 4 - Crucifixion with Church and Synagogue
Row 5 - Holy women at the tomb
Tympanum - Noli me tangere

Right lancet: Row 1 - Appearance on the road to Emmaus
Row 2 - Doubting Thomas

Row 3 - Ascension
Row 4 - Pentecost
Row 5 and tympanum - Last Judgment

Aside from certain iconographic relics here embalmed, such as the Three Marys at the tomb in place of the Resurrection, and the Road to Emmaus without (and in place of) the Supper, the series is most notable in its lack of scenes dealing directly with the 'passion' of Christ in its narrower sense. In the eleventh century such episodes as the Flagellation, Bearing of the Cross or Crown of Thorns were unknown in French art; in the twelfth century they were rare. The taboo occasionally applied even to the Crucifixion itself in the context of the life of Christ, the subjects then skipping from the Kiss of Judas directly to scenes concerning the Resurrection and Appearance at Emmaus.[1] By the thirteenth century the Passion scenes had gained a secure place in the iconography of Christ's life. It is very unusual by the fourteenth century not to find at least the Flagellation. The completeness of the Saint-Père cycle makes the total omission of references to Christ's suffering the more noteworthy. It provides the

---

[1] See mid-twelfth century sculptural friezes at Etampes and Chartres.

374

first bit of evidence in building a case for the use of a considerably older model.

The Entry to Jerusalem (Matthew XXI:7-9, Mark XI: 7-10; Luke XIX:35-38; John XII:12-16) is the customary introduction to the Passion. Christ sits astride the ass, holding a palm branch in His left hand and blessing the crowd with His right. Behind Him is Peter with the key and other disciples. Before Him in the right panel is the city gate, with two figures on the ramparts holding palms and the feet of a third[1] who originally, most likely, laid a cloak beneath the ass's feet.

The interesting feature in this otherwise quite traditional scene is the palm carried in Christ's hand. Although an infrequent detail in gothic art it occurs often enough in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries to be considered a standard variation. In most examples where Christ carries a palm the disciples do so as well. This is not the case at Saint-Père, where the only palms other than Christ's are those held by the two welcoming figures atop the city gates.

---

[1] The body has been replaced by a stop-gap which must be quite old, as it shows a considerable amount of weathering on the exterior. Such a figure is traditional in the scene. The feet are clearly visible.

Since Mâle's iconographic study of French thirteenth century art it has been accepted generally that these palms, not mentioned in the Gospels, derive from the Palm Sunday processions of the medieval church:

> Ce qui prouve clairement que la représentation de l'Entrée à Jérusalem a été déterminée par la Liturgie, c'est qu'au XIIe et au XIIIe siècle les apôtres qui suivent Jésus sont représentés avec des palmes à la main. Or si l'Evangile dit que les Juifs accueillirent Jésus-Christ avec des branches d'arbre, il ne dit pas que les apôtres en portaient. La palme aux mains des apôtres était destinée à rappeler la procession du dimanche des Rameaux. Ex.: chapiteau de Chartres, vitrail de Bourges.[1]

I believe that there is another source--more specifically a source for the palm carried by Christ Himself--which made a contribution to the scene's representation.

In the Entry to Jerusalem in Greek and Syrian gospel books Christ often carries a roll in His left hand. While it is usually tucked in His lap, occasionally He holds it up.[2]

---

[1] Mâle, *XIII*, 3rd ed. (1910), p. 218, n. 4. The detail of Christ Himself carrying a palm, while irregular in French art, was almost standard in the art of Germany throughout the gothic period, as the most casual survey of stained glass or manuscript illumination will bear out.

✓detail

[2] Examples: (a) gospel book, Mount Athos, Mon. Iviron, 5, fol. 423r (illustrated in Andreas Xyngopoulos, *Illustrated Gospels from the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos*, Athens, 1932, pl. 51); (b) gospel book, Etschmiadzin, Monastery library, 362 G, fol. 8r, dated 1057 (Frédéric Macler, *Miniatures arméniennes*, Paris, 1913, pl. XI, fig. 21); (c) gospel book, Venice, Lib. Congregazione Armena, no. 1917, fol. 128v, dated 1307 (Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés . . . de Venise*, Paris, 1936-37, text pp. 125-26 and pl. XLIX, fig. 108).

Rare examples of such a roll occur in western art from an early date.[1] Meyer Schapiro[2] has remarked in a more general context that people in the middle ages still were aware that the roll had preceded the book, and perhaps for this reason the roll (as opposed to the book) symbolized the Old Testament--apostles carry books, for example, while prophets have rolls.

Whatever its origin, very early in its development the roll in Christ's hand began to be depicted with a thong or palm leaf[3] emerging from the top, as in the precocious

---

[1] Examples: (a) ivory relief, Metz group, 9-10th c. (Victoria and Albert #257-1867, illustrated in: Victoria and Albert Museum, Early Mediaeval Art in the North, London, 1949, pl. 11); (b) Sacramentary from Fulda, Göttingen Univ.-Bibl., Ms. Theol. lat. 231, fol. 54r, 10-11th c.; (c) Pericope of Henry II, Munich, Staats-bibl. Clm. 4452, Cim. 57, fol. 78r (Ottonian, before 1014) (illustrated in Georg Leidinger, Miniaturen aus Handscriften der Kgl. Hof-und Staatsbibliothek in München, Munich, 1912, v.5, pl. 16); (d) sheets from a psalter, London, ca. 1200, in Cambridge, Emmanuel College, III.3.21 (illustrated in Victoria and Albert Museum, Exhibition of English Mediaeval Art, London, 1930, pl. 26). It was a strong tradition in Swedish stained glass of the mid-thirteenth century (CVMA Skandinavia, pls. 9, 53, 37, 15 and 75).

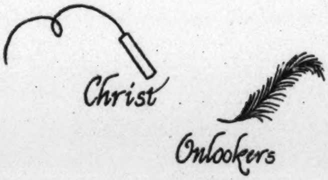
(d)

[2] Lecture, spring 1959, Columbia University.

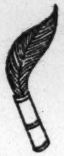
[3] For example: (a) lectionary, perhaps from Salzburg, in Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, McClean 22, Ashburnham, fol. 18v (late 12th c.) (illustrated in Georg Swarzenski, Die Salzburger Malerei, Leipzig, 1908-13, pl. LXXI (fig. 232); (b) Lintolt gospel, Vienna Hofbibl., Cod. 1244, fol. 140v (G. Swarzenski, pl. LXXXI, fig. 271); (c) window in Barfüsserkirche, Erfurt, ca. 1230 (Hans Wentzel, Meisterwerke der Glasmalerei, Berlin, 1954, pl. 65).

Leipzig

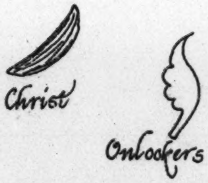
Entry into Jerusalem: palms held by Christ (and/or apostles) and by onlookers.


Christ
Onlookers

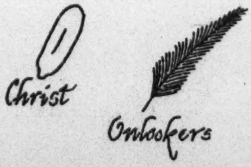
'Cambridge Gospels' (6-7th c)(from St. Augustine's, Canterbury; written in Italy ?)(Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 286, fol. 125r)



Salzburg (?) lectionary (late 12th c.) (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 22, Ashburnham, fol. 18v)


Christ
Onlookers

Gospels (2nd half 12th c.)(St. Martial, Limoges)
(Pierpont Morgan 44, fol. 6r)


Christ
Onlookers

enamel retable (12th-13th c.) (Bruges)
(Brussels. Musée des Arts Decoratifs)

Fig. 15

example in the 'Cambridge Gospels' (6-7th c.).[1] More commonly by the gothic period, in the infrequent examples where Christ and/or the apostles carry objects, the objects have evolved into whips, sticks or long leaves, not always readily identifiable. The important point to note (see accompanying figure) is that in each case they are undeniably distinct from the palms carried in the same scene by the on-lookers.[2] In a late example (Luttrell Psalter, Brit. Mus., Add. 42130, fol. 90r, ca. 1340) Christ and the disciples hold flowering branches while the observers carry nosegays.

distinct

Generally speaking, however, the gothic age abandoned such fine distinctions. Christ's palm, at Saint-Père, is only slightly rounder and more tubular at the stem than those of the welcoming bystanders. The metamorphosis of the eastern roll into the familiar palm of the Palm Sunday procession was complete. The source of the motif at Saint-Père is, however, problematical. It will have been noticed that all of the footnoted examples in the preceding paragraphs are either foreign or, if French, no later than the twelfth century. At Chartres itself there are two mid-twelfth century examples, in the Cathedral's west window and west sculptural frieze.

---

[1] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 286, fol. 125r (from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, probably written in Italy) (illustrated in Francis Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine*, Cambridge, 1954, pl. IV). Wormald calls the object in Christ's hand a 'scourge;' the palms carried by the crowd are a totally different, feathery design.

[2] See, for example: (a) Gospel Book, 2nd half 12th c., from S. Martial de Limoges (Pierpont Morgan 44, fol. 6r) (illustrated in Walter Cook, "The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia V," *Art Bulletin*, v. 10, 1927-28, fig. 33, p. 173). Christ and the apostles have palms which look something like bananas; the onlookers have gothic, foliate acanthus with short stems. (b) 12-13th c. enamel retable from Saint-Donat(?), Bruges, attributed to the school of Godefroid de Huy, in Brussels, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (zone 2).

The scene is not represented at all in the Cathedral's thirteenth century windows or scupture, on the other hand. One is left with the supposition that the model was either foreign or no later than twelfth century (or possibly both), but there the question must rest for the moment.

Row 2 illustrates the Last Supper (Matthew XXVI: 20-29; Mark XIV:17-25; Luke XXII:14-38; John XIII:12-27; I Corinthians XI:23-25). Christ flanked by the apostles dines at a long narrow table, upon which are seen jugs, loaves of bread and plates of fish. John leans upon the Lord's breast while Judas sits isolated before the table, helping himself to a fish from a nearby bowl.[1] Christ,

a

---

[1] His gesture is a common one, occurring at Chartres (west window), Laon 2nd apse window, (13th c.), Bourges and Rouen (ca. 1230).

✓ parenthese

gesturing to Peter at His side, offers something across the table to Judas with His other hand. It is neither the plate mentioned in Matthew (XXVI:23) or Mark (XIV:20) nor the sop of the Gospel of John (XIII:26).[1] Nor is it a fish, such as the one depicted at Bourges.[2]

It is Judas' moneybag. There can be no doubt of this startling identification after a comparison of the object with examples of the Last Supper where Judas carries a money bag, as at Laon[3] or at Chartres.[4] Judas' moneybag usually has the appearance of a club or ten-pin decorated with two horizontal lines. What is being represented in linear art is actually a bag with ties, the horizontal lines indicating the top of the bag where the drawstrings are.[5]

---

[1] The sop, in particular, enjoyed a long popularity in gothic art. See Chartres west window (ca. 1145), Rouen (ca. 1230), Strasbourg, Niederhaslach (1390-1420).

Strasbourg
STRASBOURG

[2] Bourges, outer ambulatory window (illustrated in Aubert (Iris Books, pl. XVI).

[3] Laon, apse window, ca. 1210 (illustrated in A. de Florival and E. Midoux, Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Laon, Paris, 1882, pl. XIX), opp. ch. 4, p. 10). Judas reaches for a fish from the plate with one hand, holding his moneybag with the other. Christ pays no attention to him.

[4] Bay 34, central apse, Apostles window (Delaporte, Plates II, pl. XCIV). Judas holds the sop and his moneybag; Christ pays no attention.

[5] Such a familiar medieval bag can be found in the Sainte-Chapelle, Bay H (panel H73--Judas delivers 30 silver pieces); and in the Catherine-Agnes window of Saint-Père, Bay 27 (bottom row of left lancet).

The fact that the Saint-Père artist has represented such a bag without knowing it, i.e., turned anti-gravitationally sideways and entirely colored gold (not only the bag but the 'ground' space between the bag's drawstrings), indicates that his model was necessarily an uncolored drawing. An example of such a drawing may be found in the Psalter of St. Swithin's Priory, Winchester (Pl. 149), dated 1150-60.[1] Judas points to a fish in a bowl with one hand, holds the moneybag with the other. The moneybag resembles a fringed ten-pin. Christ ignores him, instead offering a loaf to the disciple on his dextre side. The Saint-Père artist probably found both such elements in his source, that is to say both a Christ offering food and a Judas with moneybag. He combined them without comprehending the object's identity, a confusion possible only if the bag and the space between the drawstrings were indistinguishable by color. The occurrence of such a drawing in the St. Swithin's Psalter is notable, since there is evidence in the apse medallions of Saint-Père of the use of a model, possibly a psalter, of northern and possibly English origin.

---

[1] Brit. Mus., Cotton Nero C.IV, fol. 20r, a manuscript in parallel Latin and Norman French with distinctly English pen-illumination (see British Museum [George Frederic Warner], Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts, London, 1908, v. 3, pl. VII).

Row 3 of the left lancet shows the Betrayal including Peter cutting off Malchus' ear (Matthew XXVI:47-52; Mark XIV:43-47; Luke XXII:47-54; John XVIII:2-12). Peter is the only apostle represented. To the left are four soldiers with weapons, several of them in chain mail. Christ occupies the central panel, the betraying Judas on one side and a soldier on the other. To the right are Peter and Malchus. The story is told in tableaux rather than dramatic narrative. The object behind Judas' head is probably the lantern often found in that position in gothic art.

By far the most interesting feature of the row is the figure of Malchus, who is depicted child-sized, legs short and unbent. The customary gothic grouping of Peter and Malchus shows Malchus smaller because he is kneeling or crouching.[1] Although the body is often unanatomical, with legs too short for the torso, the knees are always bent to some degree. In the fourteenth century, in order to preserve this ancient grouping and still have room for his feet, Malchus often lies down.[1]

---

[1] In the Chartres west window, ca. 1145, both Peter and Malchus are depicted erect and full size, as they are in many twelfth century Greek manuscripts (Delaporte, Plates I, pl. VIII). Mâle, XII (1928, 3rd ed.), pp. 98ff, discusses the various types.

At Saint-Père, on the other hand, the little Malchus stands absolutely erect. Indeed he has the aspect of a circus dwarf, with large head and torso and truncated legs. It is necessary to seek in the twelfth century or earlier to find comparable Malchuses. Romanesque sculpture provides a few examples[2] and an occasional Romanesque manuscript.[3] The figure survives in one work almost contemporary with Saint-Père (c. 1300), an *opus anglicanum* embroidery[4] in which a dwarflike Malchus stands almost upright while Peter actually slices his ear, as in the window. Whether the source for the window was such a work of English embroidery or a portable art object from an earlier period is impossible to say. The preponderance of archaisms in the iconographic detail of Bay 18 would lend weight to the later hypothesis.

---

[1] For example, alabaster relief, Yarnton church, 14-15th c.

[2] Examples: (a) Beaucaire (Gard), Notre-Dame des Pommiers, frieze on south front, mid-12th c. (illustrated in A.K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, v. 9, pl. 1292); (b) Saint-Gilles, frieze, central portal, right jamb (12th c.) (illustrated in Géza de Francovich, *Benedetto Antelami*, Milan, 1952, pl. 57 (#112)). At both La Daurade and the Chartres west front, however, Malchus has bent legs.

[3] Example: lectionary, Brussels, Bibl. Royale, 9428, fol. 86r (early 11th c. 1150). The erect, dwarflike Malchus is typical of 11th c. Cappadocian frescoes, such as those at Gõreme (Qaranleq Kilisse, Tchareqle Kilisse).

[4] British Museum, *A Guide to the Mediaeval Room*, Oxford, 1907, fig. 181.

The Crucifixion with Church and Synagogue occupies Row 4. The central panel shows Christ on the cross, His head inclined and His body, draped in a long loincloth and nailed by three nails, forming an S-curve. The scene is stripped of narrative or symbolic detail, only dignified figures of the Virgin and St. John included.

The figures of Church and Synagogue which flank the central panel are of great interest. Each completely fills its panel, looming larger than the Crucifixion itself. They are represented in the standard manner, the Church crowned and holding a cross-staff, Synagogue blindfolded with the broken lance, her crown toppling from her head and the tablets of law dropping from her hand. One detail which is not at all standard is the object carried by the Church. In place of the customary chalice[1] she presents an elaborately traceried doublet-and-rose window.

---

[1] Examples of a chalice: (a) Bourges, outer ambulatory window, ca. 1215 (VF, pl. VI); (b) Reims, west front, gable of left portal; (c) Rouen ambulatory window, ca. 1230 (VF, fig. 27); (d) enamel triptych of St. Aignan, treasury of Chartres Cathedral, beginning of 13th c. (illustrated in Taralon, Trésors, H.T. III (opp. p. 56); (e) Lyons, apse window (Bégule, Vitraux, 1911, pl. III and fig. 28).

There was local precedent for such a fancy. In Chartres Bay 59 (north nave)[1] Ecclesia carries the model of a church.

While Church and Synagogue were commonly included in Crucifixions throughout the thirteenth century, the source for the Saint-Père figures seems more precisely to have been a manuscript. The figures are strikingly close to those adorning the 'Te igitur' initial in the Missal of Compiègne, BN ms. lat. 17318, fol. 173v. (ca. 1250)[2] and a missal from Chartres, Chartres Bibl. mun. 502, fol. 189v. (early 14th c.) (Pl. 150).[3] The former would seem to represent the ultimate source while the Chartres missal, contemporary with the window, could easily have been the direct model. Note especially Ecclesia's vair-lined cloak and the tablets of law. The Chartres missal figures are reversed from those of the Compiègne missal and of the window, although what the significance of such a reversal might be is unclear. Other scenes at Saint-Père are occasionally reversed from their models, for example, in Bay 23 (Denis lancet).

---

[1] Delaporte, Plates II, pl. CLV.

[2] Illustrated in CVMA Schweiz I, fig. 28a; Abbé Victor Leroquais, Les Sacramentaires, Paris, 1924, v. II, #296.

[3] The manuscript was destroyed in World War II (illustrated in Yves Delaporte, Les manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothéque de Chartres, Chartres, 1929, pl. XIV and p. 87; Leroquais, Les sacramentaires, v. II, #374). Unfortunately, another missal of the use of Saint-Père, early 14th c. (Chartres, Bibl. Mun. ms. 519, Church and Synagogue on fol. 130v), unpublished, was also completely destroyed in the war.

The top row of the left lancet shows the Three Marys at the tomb (Mark XVI:1-7), a common scene in the early gothic period.[1] By the mid-thirteenth century[2] it had largely been replaced by the moment of Resurrection itself, when Christ stepped from the tomb,[3], or more rarely both were shown in conjunction.[1] By the early fourteenth century, date of the Saint-Père windows, the Holy Women at the tomb had almost totally disappeared from French art.[2]

---

[1] Mâle, XIII (1919 ed.), p. 233, n. 4: "On a souvent affirmé . . . que la résurrection de Jésus-Christ ne se rencontre pas dans l'art avant le XIIIe siècle; et en effet, à l'époque romane, ces représentations sont très rares. . . . Les artistes primitifs n'avaient pas osé représenter la mystérieuse sortie du tombeau, parce qu'elle n'est pas décrite dans l'Evangile. Ils se contenaient de représenter les saintes femmes au tombeau."

[2] Late examples: (a) Lyons south rose (ca. 1250); (b) Sainte-Chapelle (ca. 1245) (CVMA France I, p. 204, H38 and H45-46 are sleeping guards; there is no convincing reason to believe with Grodecki, p. 203 n. 2 and p. 204, H38, that the sleeping guards could not originally have belonged to the Holy Women scene and must indicate a lost Resurrection; the lost panel of H41 could have shown the Harrowing of Hell, a frequent subject by that date); (c) Tours, clerestory, ca. 1257-70 (Boissonot, pl. VIII).

[3] Early examples: (a) Bourges, outer ambulatory (Cahier and Martin, pl. V; Clement and Guitard, pl. VII); (b) Canterbury, medallion now in south choir aisle, triforium, ca. 1220 (Rackham, pl. 24a); (c) Reims, west front, archivolts of left portal; (d) Clermont-Ferrand, St. Anne chapel, 3rd quarter 13th c. (illustrated in Henry du Ranquet, Les Vitraux de la cathédrale de Clermont-Ferrand, Clermont-Ferrand, 1932, pl. opp. p. 196 (color drawing)).

The Saint-Père artist has represented his archaizing subject in full traditional detail. The angel, holding a short cross-staff, sits on the tomb to the left. Behind it are two nimbed women and to the right is a third, all carrying ointment jars. Although the jars have been copies by rote--they appear quite flat and angular--the type is clear.[1] The first holy woman touches the shroud resting on top of the tomb. Below the tomb, or more accurately framed within the three trefoiled arches of the tomb facade, are three tiny figures of sleeping guards. Only the infrequently found hanging lamps have been eliminated from the standard Romanesque formula.

---

[1] G. Sanoner, "La vie de Jésus-Christ racontée par les imagiers du moyen âge sur les portes d'églises," Revue de l'art chrétien, v. 57, Nov. 1907, p. 366, states that the Holy Women at the Tomb, and Christ Leaving the Tomb, being two forms of the same subject, are almost never found together. Rare examples do exist, however: (a) Tours, axial chapel, ca. 1250-55 (Boissonot, pl. XVIII); (b) windows from Neue kirche, Strasbourg (now in the Cathedral, Lawrence chapel), 14th c.; (c) ivory plaque, 14-1st half 15th c., where the two scenes are merged into one (Brit. Museum, illustrated in Koechlin, Ivoires, v. 2, #857, pl. CLV).

[2] Late examples in French art, all from late 13-14th c.: (a) Rouen, tympanum of south facade, zone 3; (b) Strasbourg, tympanum of central portal, west facade (ca. 1284-1318); (c) possibly, Bourges choir screen (Musée de Berry), the remnants of which are quite incomplete. The scene seems to have lasted in Italian art to a considerably later period: (a) 14th c. Umbrian manuscript of Vita Christi, Pierpont Morgan 643, fol. 14r; (b) Milanese ivory diptych, early 15th c., National Gallery, Washington (C-9, illustrated in Erwin O. Christensen, Objects of Medieval Art (National Gallery of Art Handbook no. 3), Washington, 1952, p. 27).

The tomb itself and the sleeping soldiers have been modernized to the early fourteenth century taste. The three cavities of the tomb,[2] probably openings for libations originally, and by the gothic period sometimes rendered as decorative niches,[3] have been transformed into elaborate High Gothic trefoiled arches with traceried spandrels. The sleeping soldiers are contemporary warriors in chain mail armed with lances, shields and swords. While it was common practice by the thirteenth century to represent the sleeping guards in medieval battledress, their shields customarily bore an idealized rosette pattern.[1] At Saint-Père the escutcheons are patterned after contemporary coats of arms. That of the central soldier appears to be the rampant lion of Béatrix de Montfort-l'Amaury, donor of Bay 19 (see figure supra, Ch. XI, A). The right shield is bendy in a border and the left one is charged with a cinqfoil, in a border SA. bezanty. The rendering of the shields in grisaille without tinctures makes any positive identification impossible, as all three were standard heraldic patterns by ca. 1300.

---

[1] Cf. ointment jar carried by the Magdalene in the choir of Johanniterkirche, Münchenbuchsee, after 1300 (illustrated in CVMA Schweiz I, pl. 56).

[2] See: Chartres west capital-frieze, ca. 1145; Etampes frieze; St.-Gilles capitals (mid 12th c.); Sainte-Chapelle, window H, panels H38 and H47.

[3] For example at Bourges, outer ambulatory window (Cahier and Martin, pl. V; Clement and Guitard, pl. VII).

The tympanum of the left lancet contains the Noli me tangere (Mark XVI:9-11; John XX:14-18). The Magdalene kneels in prayer. Christ, chest bared, holds a cross-staff. The episode of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene enjoyed a long and fairly stable iconographic history and was shown in this manner well into the fourteenth century.[2]

---

[1] Window at Lyons (VF, fig. 87); Canterbury, Resurrection panel (Rackham, pl. 24a).

[2] Twelfth century example: La Daurade, 1115-25 (Marie LaFargue, Les Chapiteaux du cloître de Notre-Dame La Daurade, Paris, 1940, pl. XIX, fig. 1). Late gothic examples: (a) Mézieres-en-Brenne (Indre), ca. 1340 (VF, fig. 129); (b) ivory plaque, 14-15th c., British Museum (Koechlin, v. 2, #857, pl. CLV).

390

The cycle continues in the bottom row of the right lancet with Christ's appearance on the Road to Emmaus (Mark XVI:12-13; Luke XXIV:13-27). In the left panel is Christ, His hand raised in blessing. The two disciples, carrying pilgrims' staves and pouches, occupy the central panel. City architecture behind a gate appears to the right. Rare as it is to find Christ without a pilgrim's staff or hat, it is rarer still to find the scene at all by the beginning of the fourteenth century, when it had all but disappeared. The popularity of the Emmaus episode reached a peak in the narrative accounts of the twelfth century and began to wane during the thirteenth. By ca. 1250 the introductory scene of the Road to Emmaus, shown at Saint-Père, had largely been dropped, its infrequent occurrences almost always in conjunction with the Supper scene which followed it.[1] There is no Supper at Saint-Père. The artist either omitted it intentionally or followed a model which

---

[1] Examples where the two scenes are found together: (a) Sainte-Chapelle, Bay H, panels H18 and H21, ca. 1245 (CVMA France I, pp. 204-05 and pls. 50-52); (b) Tours, axial chapel (ca. 1250-55) (Boissonot, pl. XVIII); (c) Notre-Dame choir screen, late 13th-14th c., a work which goes into the appearances after the Resurrection in great detail.

391

included only the scene of the Road to Emmaus. Such examples, although rare, include a ca. 1250 Liège psalter (Liège Bibl. de l'univ. 431, fol. 11v.), a manuscript from a group with demonstrable affinities to the Saint-Père apse medallions.[1]

The Incredulity of Thomas follows in the second row (John XX:25-29). St. Thomas and Christ occupy the central panel flanked by two groups of apostles. Both stand and Christ, grasping the disciple's hand in His own, thrusts it into the wound. This ancient and dramatic gesture,[1] which appears infrequently throughout the long course of gothic art,[2] was by no means in the mainstream of French thirteenth century iconography. Christ more passively bares His wound at Chartres, Tours and the Notre-Dame choir screen.[3]

---

[1] See discussion Ch. IX. There exist, also, two 14th c. Italian manuscripts with large miniatures of the Road to Emmaus without the Supper: (a) Meditations of the Pseudo-Bonaventura, Oxford, Lib. Corpus Christi 410, fol. 159r; (b) Vita Christi, Pierpont Morgan 643, fol. 15r, a retarditaire work by an Umbrian artist which includes the Holy Women at Tomb in place of the Resurrection, and a Pentecost with no Virgin present. Both manuscripts can be discounted. There is little indication of influence of Pseudo-Bonaventura at Saint-Père, which dates very early for such influence in France at any rate. The archaisms of the Vita Christi illuminations probably came from an earlier model by much the same process as at Saint-Père.

The gesture of Christ thrusting Thomas' hand into the wound was common in English art of the late thirteenth century,[4] and the source may have been there. An English psalter of the late thirteenth century and two English

---

[1] It occurs on a lead ampula of the 6th c. (British Museum), obtained in Egypt but probably of Palestinian origin; and on a Byzantine pressed-gold plaque dated before 700 (Berlin, Staatliche Mus. I. 6861, illustrated in Helmut Schlunk, Kunst der Spätantike im Mittelmeerraum (Spätantike und byzantinische Kleinkunst aus Berliner Besitz. Ausstellung aus Anlass des 6. Internationalen Kongressen für Archäologie), Berlin, 1939, no. 55, pl. 11. The forceful gesture of Christ thrusting Thomas' finger into His wound may derive from Ceptic texts such as the Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle (ANT p. 185), in which account there appears to be some coercion involved: "Then Jesus appeared, and made Thomas touch his wounds. . . ." (M.R. James dates the text 5-6thc., no later than the 7th c.).

Kongressen

[2] An early Renaissance example can be found at St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, Paris, ca. 1530 (VF, fig. 195).

[3] Chartres, Bay 46 (Delaporte Plates II, pl. CXXXVI); Tours, axial chapel, (Boissonot, pl. XVIII).

[4] Examples can be found in German gothic art as well.

393

copes of ca. 1300 are portable examples which can be mentioned, as well as the frescoes of Westminster Abbey.[1]

The iconographic detail of greatest interest is the same in both the next two scenes (Ascension and Pentecost)--namely, the absence of the Virgin Mary. In both rows the apostles appear seated, holding books. Above them in the Ascension (Luke XXIV:50-51; Acts I:6-11) are Christ's feet, a graphic and theologically rather primitive symbol which retained its popularity throughout the gothic era.[2] Above the apostles of the Pentecost (Acts II:1-4) hovers a bug-eyed dove from which emanate rays much like maypole streamers. Neither scene is among the inspired creations of the artists of Saint-Père and certainly the horizontal row format is uncongenial to the 'verticality' of the two stories.

It was presumably for this reason that the apostles of the Ascension, who customarily stand, were seated like their counterparts in the Pentecost. The absence of the Virgin is more difficult to explain. Although not always included in the Ascension in early medieval art, the Virgin from the twelfth century customarily took part.[1] Similarly, although not always included in the Pentecost in the Romanesque period,[2] by the mid-thirteenth century in France the Virgin was a regular participant in that scene as well. The streamer-like rays typical of twelfth century works[3] had likewise given way by the mid-thirteenth century for 'tongues of fire' of the sort found in the Sainte-Chapelle (Bay H6).[4] The ribbon-type rays and the absence of the

---

[1] (a) English psalter, belonged to John Grandison, Bishop of Exeter 1327-28 (Brit. Mus., Add. 21926, fol. 23r); (b) English cope in St. John Lateran, Rome (Christie, pl. CIII); (c) English cope, Victoria and Albert Museum (Christie, pl. XCVIII); (d) frescoes of south transept, Westminster Abbey 2nd half 13th c.-ca. 1300 (Peter Brieger, English Art 1216-1307, Oxford, 1957, pl. 81).

[2] For a late example see ivory plaque, British Museum, 14-15th c. (Ormonde Maddock Dalton, Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era . . . in . . . the British Museum, London, 1909, pl. LXXI).

---

[1] Examples in the stained glass medium: (a) Le Mans panels, ca. 1145 (VF p. 82); (b) Poitiers, apse window of ca. 1190; (c) panel, ca. 1175, found in use as a stop-gap at Saint-Père (illustrated in Bulletin monumental, v. 121, 1963, figs. pp. 78-79); (d) Canterbury, two panels of early 13th c. (Rackham, pls. 24b and 30); (e) Laon chevet, central window, ca. 1210.

[2] The traditions of including or excluding her, stemming ultimately from early Christian and Byzantine practice, coexisted in the west until the early 13th c. She is absent at Clermont-Ferrand, ca. 1190 (illustrated in Louis Grodecki, "Un Groupe de vitraux français du XIIe siècle," Festschrift Hans R. Hahnloser Basle, 1961, pp. 289-98, fig. 3); Canterbury, ca. 1220 (Rackham, color pl. X); psalter of Paris, 1st half 13th c. (BN, nouv. acq. lat. 1392, fol. 13r). A late and quite unusual example, with the apostles standing, is found in the Cathedral of Rouen, ca. 1330 or later (VF fig. 135 and p. 166).

[3] Examples: (a) Le Champs, ca. 1160 (Grodecki, Hahnloser, fig. 1); (b) Canterbury, ca. 1220; (c) psalter of Jully-sous-Ravières, Lyons, Bibl. de la ville 539, fol. 212v, 1st half 13th c.

[4] CVMA France I, p. 205.

Virgin in both rows mark Saint-Père as an archaizing work for its date in the early fourteenth century.

A unique example of the two scenes without the Virgin can be found in the Apostles window of Chartres Cathedral (hemicycle, Bay 34).[1] The iconographic focus of the cathedral window, however, is sharply trained on the apostles themselves. Many distracting story-lines, such as Peter-Malchus and even to some degree Judas,[2] are eliminated. The latent and pervasive Mariology already present in other early thirteenth century works has been sacrificed on the Chartres Apostles window for the same reason. But the Saint-Père lancet concerns itself with the Passion of Christ, not specifically with the apostles. The remainder of scenes in the two windows being totally disparate, it must be concluded that the source of the Saint-Père window was some other more traditional twelfth or early thirteenth century object.

The series of Appearances of Christ in the right lancet is capped in the top row and tympanum by the Last Judgment. In the central panel the seated Christ bares His wounds, flanked by small praying figures of the Virgin and St. John. To the sides two angels with oliphants call the dead from their tombs. Four nude souls arise in attitudes of prayer. Above in the tympanum four angels bear the cross, lance, scourges, Crown of Thorns and three nails.

---

[1] Delaporte, Plates II, pl. XCIV.

[2] Christ's arrest has no Judas-kiss; Christ pays no attention to Judas at the Last Supper.

Although the scene expands into the tympanum panels it is accorded scarcely more importance than any of the window's other episodes. That the Last Judgment was occasionally included in series in such a democratic manner can be seen from a few thirteenth century works where it is no more focal or grandiose than its neighboring scenes.[1] The iconographic form is the one current in France from the last years of the twelfth century through the fourteenth. Only the small size of the Virgin and John gives the slightest hint of an early model.[2]

The conclusions to be drawn from an iconographic study of Bay 18 are elusive. Almost every scene in some way is peculiar for its date. Even the choice of scenes is unusual for the early fourteenth century, by which time the Scourging of Christ, Bearing of the Cross, Crown of Thorns and other scenes of Christ's suffering had become common in such a series.[1] The relegation of the Virgin to a distinctly minor role is also noteworthy for a period when the cult of Mary was riding the crest. The Holy Women at the tomb and the Road to Emmaus scenes were definite archaisms by ca. 1310-15. Strong circumstantial evidence suggests that the window was modeled closely on a work of perhaps a century earlier.

---

[1] For example, Liège psalter, after ca. 1250, Liège, Bibl. de l'Université 431, fol. 11v (Last Judgment is one of six border medallions).

[2] Cf. rosace from Châteauroux, ancienne église des cordeliers, ca. 1235-40 (Vitraux de France, pl. 12).

The frequency of specific and minute details, such as the palm carried by Christ in the Entry to Jerusalem, Judas' moneybag in the Last Supper, the ointment jars of the Holy Women, the lantern in the Betrayal, leads to the further assumption that the source was probably a small, carefully rendered object such as a manuscript. It is even possible to suggest, on the evidence of the mistaken coloring of Judas' moneybag, that the model was in black and white. Details such as the dwarf Malchus and Christ's

---

[1] The absence of the Washing of the Feet, Transfiguration, Entombment, Deposition, etc., can more probably be explained by lack of space.

398

grasping gesture in the Doubting Thomas scene suggest further that the model was English. Only the Church and Synagogue, clearly influenced by the 'Te Igitur' initial of a contemporary Chartrain missal, do not fit the pattern of uniform archaism in the Saint-Père window.

It is possible that the archaisms derive from more than one source, or that they were transmitted by a source-object in a medium such as opus anglicanum, where earlier forms were retained until a later date.

Although the choice of scenes and the manner of their representation was largely borrowed, the artist was not blind to contemporary developments nor did he fail to embellish his material occasionally. The little traceried stained-glass window held by Ecclesia is a charming innovation, and the moneybag given to Christ in the Last Supper is, at the least, inventive! The Crucified Christ, hanging heavily in an S-curve, is the contemporary type.[1] By limiting the material to a single episode per row the artist presented the cycle much more clearly and dramatically than, for example, the Joachim-Anne lancet of Bay 19 opposite. The window's iconographic relics, indeed, wear quite well.

---

[1] Cf. Evreux, ca. 1325 (VF, fig. 132).

E. Bay 22: Saints Peter and Paul

The window of St. Peter (Pl. 58) consists of two lancets of seven rows each, each row formed of three lights across. The format, stylistically more primitive than the five row-six panel design found in most of the nave's narrative bays, allows very little space for canopy development above the scenes and encourages small-scale narrative at the expense of clarity and dramatic effect. The only other use of the seven-row format in the church occurs in the right lancet of Bay 19 (Joachim-Anne lancet) (Pl. 52). Both Bay 19 and Bay 22 can be dated by donors to the first decade of the fourteenth century, and as hesitant and only partially successful designs they fall at the commencement of the campaign of nave glazing.

The bay of the abbey's name-saint, like Bay 23 directly across the nave (Pl. 64), suffered dismemberment during the eighteenth century, and remained in mutilated form until the restorations of 1906-08. Two vertical strips of panels, probably the outer lights of each lancet, were replaced by clear glass and removed to locations in the apse of the church. There they were leaded into the broad windows crazy-quilt-like, in no special order, often

leaded

400

sideways or upside-down.[1] Luckily only a few panels were lost in the exodus.

The restoration of the removed panels, which are smaller and have more self-contained designs than those of Bay 23, was a delicate task and, from the available evidence, seems to have gone through several stages. A photograph of unknown date (Pl. 61), found in the files of the restorer of 1906-08 Charles Lorin,[2] shows the bay with panels in only the central strip of each lancet, the four framing strips all glazed in clear glass. Panels described as in the window in the mid-nineteenth century are absent in this mysterious photograph,[3] which perhaps shows a first step in the 'restoration,' in which rather than panels being

---

[1] Among the documents concerning the ca. 1905 restoration is a plan submitted by the architect E. Brunet on February 25, 1907, showing the four hemicycle windows in which fragments of Bay 22 were then located (north and south radiating chapels and the two windows framing the entry to the axial chapel) (Monuments historiques, Eure-et-Loir, Chartres, Eglise St. Pierre, 463, Dossier I). A photograph exists of one of the lights of the ambulatory filled with such fragments (Arch. Phot. 196433), (Pl. 65).

[2] Arch. Phot. 196405 B21641. Found in 1960 by his son, François Lorin.

[3] See Bulteau (1850), p. 294; Poisson (1857), p. 420. Panels specifically identified in the 19th c. include the Christ of 'Domine quo vadis?' and the angel carrying Peter's soul.

401

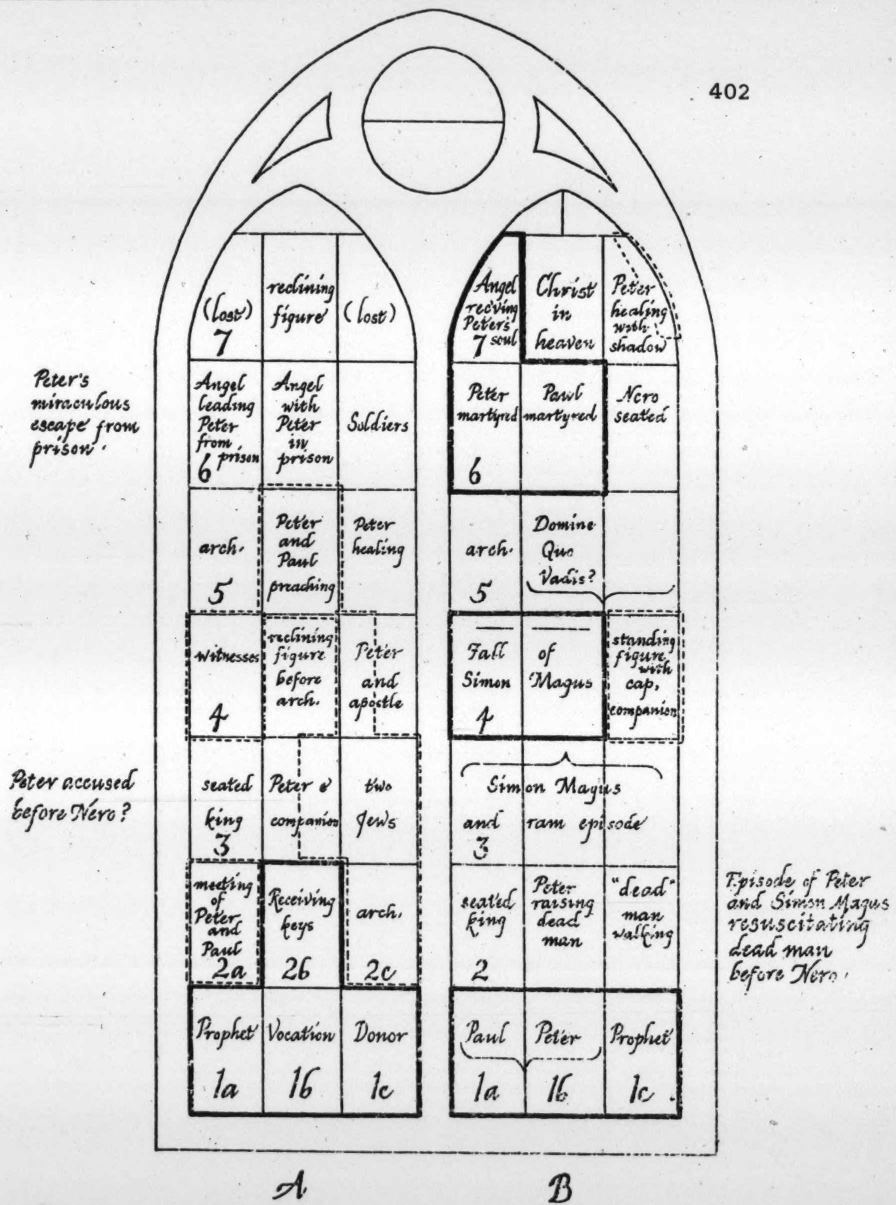
replaced, additional ones were removed in order to match the format to that of the nave's standing saints. Note in this regard that, in the mystery photograph, the leading pattern of the outer strip of each lancet differs from that of the inner ones.[1]

The checkered history of the window, its format of small narrative panels, and the considerable variations in style which are in evidence make it the most difficult and complicated puzzle in the church. Fortunately the 1906-08 restorers produced a work of reconstruction which, considering the task, is altogether admirable. The window will be described, therefore, in the form in which it can now be seen with comments on the reconstruction included en passant. A corrected reconstruction will then be offered.

As it is reconstructed the window reads from bottom to top, left lancet first, a familiar format in the nave clerestory. The lower rows of both lancets form the exception to the rule, the six lights presently containing a

---

[1] Charles Lorin was referred to in specifications of 1906 as the restorer of the north bays; in 1807 (February 25 and July 4) he was specifically assigned the restoration of Bay 22 ('the 4th clerestory of the nave, north side'); and the devis of April 27, 1908, calls for a 'revision' of certain clerestories of the nave. The fragments of the Peter window are mentioned as in the ambulatory in all specifications of 1907; by 1908 they had been removed.

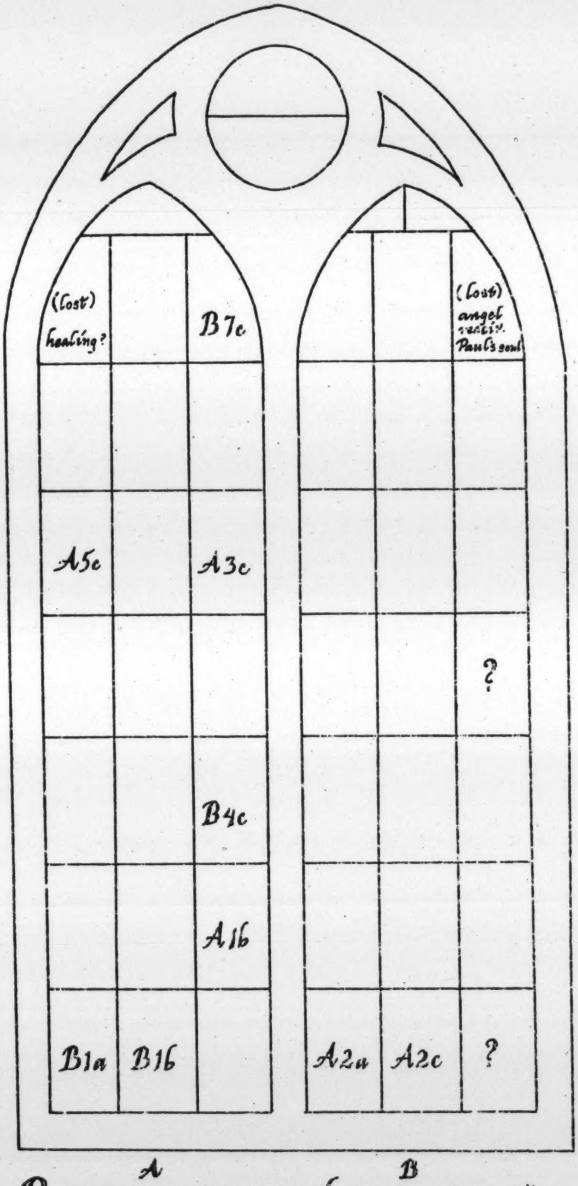

(lost) 7
reclining figure
(lost)
Angel receiving Peter's soul 7
Christ in heaven
Peter healing with shadow
Peter's miraculous escape from prison.
Angel leading Peter from prison 6
Angel with Peter in prison
Soldiers
Peter martyred 6
Paul martyred
Nero seated
arch. 5
Peter and Paul preaching
Peter healing
arch. 5
Domine Quo Vadis?
witnesses 4
reclining figure before arch.
Peter and apostle
Fall Simon 4
of Magus
standing figure with cap, companion
Peter accused before Nero?
seated king 3
Peter & companion
two Jews
Simon Magus and ram episode 3
meeting of Peter and Paul 2a
Receiving keys 2b
arch. 2c
seated king 2
Peter raising dead man
"dead" man walking
Episode of Peter and Simon Magus resuscitating dead man before Nero.
Prophet 1a
Vocation 1b
Donor 1c
Paul 1a
Peter 1b
Prophet 1c
A
B

Bay 22 ~ present reconstruction

Heavy black line = bays earlier or later than c. 1305 (cf diagram or text in style chapter.)

Broken line = blue grounds.

Fig. 16


(lost) healing?
B7c
(lost) angel receiv. Paul's soul
A5c
A3c
?
B4c
A1b
B1a
B1b
A2a
A2c
?
A
B

Bay 22 ~ suggested reconstruction

The present order of rows has not been disturbed more than necessary for obvious misplacement, the subjects being somewhat out of order in any case.

Fig. 17

404

pair of later prophets (one in each lancet), a pair of standing figures of Peter and Paul with attributes (right lancet), a donor panel (left lancet) and the introductory scene of the Calling of Peter (left lancet). It seems fairly obvious that such an assortment does not reflect the original state.

The two later prophets[1] can be dismissed from the original scheme. The panels' provenance is unknown. They show traces of silver stain, a technique in general use in Europe by the second quarter of the fourteenth century but totally absent from Saint-Père otherwise. They also have foliate grounds of vigorous Germanic design, quite unlike the elegant damasquined grounds common in fourteenth century Normandy (Evreux, Saint-Ouen de Rouen). A French example comparable to Saint-Père can be found in the central medallion of the west rose of Lyons (Agnus Dei), late fourteenth century. Note also the panel of flying drapery behind each prophet. Because they maintain the arch format and because at least one of them was among the panels retained in the window during the eighteenth century[1] it seems likely that the two prophet panels were incorporated into the window at an early date in its history, perhaps ca. 1400.

---

[1] Parts of the grounds are restored and the head of the prophet now in the right lancet is modern.

[2] Foliate grounds appeared in German windows very early (see panel, ca. 1220, by Rhenish master Gerlachus, in Berlin, Kunstgewerbe Museum), and maintained their popularity throughout the gothic period. German types are generally more vigorous and less delicate than French damasquins.

The pair of panels showing Peter and Paul holding attributes, on the other hand, was probably part of the window from its conception.[2] They are stylistically the earliest panels of the bay. It is conceivable that they were designed for a lower location in the church, as part of a series which was later expanded to suit the enormous space of Bay 22. The early panels seem to have been designed in matching pairs, like the Peter-Paul panels: cf., the two panels of Simon Magus' fall; the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul; the vocation of Peter and giving of the keys. If the truth lies here, then it was the original format of the series of matching panels which dictated the seven-row pattern of the Peter window in the clerestory, at the time

---

[1] The mystery photograph shows the 'prophet facing left' in the center of the bottom row, left lancet (before the head was restored). Poisson (1857) refers to this panel as 'jumbled subject.'

[2] There is little restoration. Both panels were in the window during the 18th and 19th c. (Poisson, p. 420--'Peter and Paul;' Bulteau, p. 294--'Peter talks to Paul'); and the mystery photograph shows the Peter panel in place (Pl. 61).

406

of their reuse there (and subsequently of the Joachim-Anne lancet of Bay 19 (Pl. 52), designed to match). After that time the unsuitability of the seven-row format for the more elevated location was recognized.

The donor panel has also traveled before coming to rest in its present location. It shows a kneeling abbot with crozier and inscription. In 1672 Dom Aubert noticed it in "une vitre de la nef de l'eglise de septentrion"[1] and a drawing made for Roger de Gaignières (1642-1715) (Pl. 59) labels it "Vitre dans la nef de l'Eglise. . . ."[2] It can be assumed that both are referring to Bay 22. The inscription as recorded by the Gaignières artist between 1692 and 1704 reads:[3]

---

[1] Chartres, Bibl. ms. 1151, ch. 144.

[2] Oxford, Bodleian, Ms. Gough, Drawings-Gaignières 9, fol. 56 (unpublished). A mid-19th c. copy (BN, Gaignières B #3568) is illustrated in Joseph Guibert, Les dessins d'archéologie de Roger de Gaignières, Series II, Vitraux, Pls. 1 à 100 (Ambroise-Etival), Paris, n.d., pl. 91; it is described in Henri Bouchot, Inventaire des dessins èxécutés pour Roger de Gaignières et conservés aux Départements des Estampes et des Manuscrits, Paris, 1891, v.1, p. 470.

[3] See Ad. Lecocq, "Monuments chartrains de la collection Gaignières," Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Procès-verbaux, v. 3, 1868, p. 239.

IE HAN .
ABB E·DE·
CEA NS·I
FIT FAI=
RE· C
ECI
LAN·M· CCC.V.

By the nineteenth century the donor panel had traveled to the hemicycle, where Guilhermy found it in "la galerie du chevet"[1] and Ferdinand de Lasteyrie with customary precision pinpointed it: "Ce vitrail est situé au pourtour du choeur, un peu à gauche, en arriere du sanctuare."[2] Presumably it was in one of the four locations in the ambulatory where Brunet found the displaced fragments in 1906. The mutilated inscription then read:

Guilhermy: IEHAN
DE MANTE
A . . . .PERE

De Lasteyrie:[3] see pl. 60a. A lower line, engaged half-way in the masonry at that time, appears in his plate. It evidently consisted of 12 letters and no stops.

---

[1] François de Guilhermy, "Notes sur diverses localités de la France. Chalons-sur-Marne--Clermont-Ferrand," 1856-58 (BN, nouv. acq. fr. 6098, fol. 198v).

[2] Ferdinand de Lasteyrie, Histoire de la peinture sur verre, Paris, 1857, v. 1, p. 220.

[3] De Lasteyrie, pl. XXXVa and p. 219 (reconstruction).

He reconstructed the inscription:

IE HAN
DEM ANTE
PAR LA
GR̄CE
DE : IS^{h} (Jesus)ABE
DE S : PERE

In the present restoration it reads:

IE HAN
DEM ANTE
PAR LA GRCE
DE DIE U
ABE
DE SAINT PERE

Jean Ier de Mantes was abbot of Saint-Père from 1306 until his death in 1310, a period of great activity in the stained glass workshop. He was a known benefactor of the abbey, presenting it with a great bell in 1308.[1] His predecessor in office, Abbot Hervé, died the Monday after Passion Sunday (i.e., two weeks before Easter) in 1306. As the source of the document is a seventeenth century copy it is unclear whether the date is n.s. or o.s.[2] In either

---

[1] *Gallia christiana*, v. 8, col. 1229.

[2] Dom Bernard Aubert, writing in 1672, reports the document in the abbey's archives (Aubert, ch. 144). Modern writers give the date alternatively as March 21, 1306 or 1307.

409

case the nave clerestory of St. Peter was probably the gift of Abbot Jean in his first years of office. If the date is n.s. the window would assume importance as an immediate donation to commemorate Jean in his first years of office. If the date is n.s. the window would assume importance as an immediate donation to commemorate Jean de Mante's election. As the earliest in style it would further assume importance as the instigator of the series of narrative windows in the nave.

The issue is just how much confidence to place in the inscription in the Gaignières drawing (Pl. 59), the last line of which gives the date LAN.M.CCC.V.[1] Unfortunately the date, the seventh line of the Gaignières inscription, bears no resemblance whatsoever to the garbled remains of the seventh line half-cemented into the masonry during the nineteenth century and thus reported by de Lasteyrie (Pl. 60a). Furthermore the entire Gaignières inscription follows the basic wording of a late fifteenth century inscription (now lost) which Gaignières also had copied, from the aisle of the nave where it would have been much easier to see than that of the clerestory window (Pl. 90).[1] As its accuracy cannot be specifically discredited, however, the possibility must be allowed that Abbot Jean de Mantes could have given the window upon his election in the spring of 1306.[2]

---

[1] On the liberties taken by draughtsmen in the employ of Gaignières, see: Suzanne Honoré-Duvergé, "Le prétendu vitrail de Charles le Mauvais à la cathédrale d'Evreux," Bulletin monumental, v. 101, 1942, esp. pp. 58-61 and 64-66.

In any case the emergence of Abbot Jean as donor of the first nave window, a pastiche of earlier panels hastily augmented to fit the clerestory, pushes into the period following his donation the gifts of the Canons Laurent Voison and Nicolas de Maison-Maugis and of the Countess Béatrix de Montfort-l'Amaury, all of which fall in the first decade of the century (the latest predates 1315). The Abbot Jean I assumes a significant role in the embellishment of the monastery church. The glazing of the nave--a unique vision--was probably largely his achievement.

---

[1] Gaignières fol. 57 (Oxford, Bodleian, Ms. Gough, Drawings-Gaignières 9): "VIe daoust jour certain mil quatre cens octante et huit, *Jehan* pinart *Abbe de ceans*, *cet* ymage *cy* metre *fit*." (Note that *Gallia christiana* gives Pinart's death date as Jan. 13, 1480.)

[2] Easter fell on April 3, in 1306. If the date of Hervé's death is n.s., it becomes March 20, 1306. Jean's election as abbot would have had to fall between the two, i.e., very close upon his predecessor's death, to carry the date 1305 (o.s.).

The legend of Bay 22 begins in the lower left with the Calling of Peter (Matthew IV:18ff.). The panel is one of the earlier series which probably formed the nucleus for the clerestory window. In the Gaignières drawing (Pl. 59) a small but recognizable part of the Calling of Peter panel is shown directly above the donor panel, i.e., in the right light of the second row, probably its original location. Christ, with cruciferous halo, stands to the right beckoning a youthful Peter, who has put down his nets and thrown one leg over the side of the boat in the act of obeying. The design, which maintains an ancient formula for the episode,[1] very closely resembles several scenes of Christ calling the apostles in the Apostles window at Chartres (central apse, Bay 34).[2]

The three panels of the second row also seem to be out of the original order. The central light contains an early panel which matches the Calling of Peter, showing Peter receiving the keys from Christ (Matthew XVI:15-19). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this panel was in the second row of the other lancet (see Pl. 61). The two protagonists stand next to one another, their hands grasping the key between them in the traditional pose.[1]

---

[1] See the early 6th c. mosaic from St. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, in which Peter stands in the boat (illustrated in Mâle, Les Saints compagnons du Christ, Paris, 1958, p. 97 bottom).

Nuovo

[2] Delaporte, Plates II, pl. XCIII.

The two panels now framing the scene of Peter receiving the keys have canopies of a later style. The panel to the right contains architecture of a walled city bordered by verdant countryside (the outskirts of Rome?). In the left hand panel are two nimbed figures who embrace one another, both barefoot and holding books.[2] During the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries the panel was in the third row center position (Pl. 61); next to it was another panel of two figures, either disciples or Jews.[3] The subject is either the embrace of Peter and Paul at their first meeting in Rome, or their final embrace before being led to separate martyrdoms.

The details of Peter's apostulate in Rome are apocryphal. The meeting in Rome is related briefly in the Golden Legend:

---

[1] Cf. Tours clerestory, ca. 1257-70 (Bourassé and Manceau, pl. X).

[2] The heads are restorations. They are weathered beyond recognition in contrast to the good condition of the lower part of the panel. The former state of mutilation can be seen in Pl. 61 (Arch. Phot. 196405 B21641).

[3] Bulteau (1850), p. 294, calls them disciples; Poisson (1857), p. 420, called them Jews. Pl. 61 seems to have been made after their (undocumented) removal from the window.

> . . .Paul came to Rome, and laboured with
> Peter in the preaching of the word.

The final embrace is given in more detail:

> And when the moment of their separation came,
> Paul said to Peter: 'Peace be with thee,
> cornerstone of the Church, shepherd of the
> lambs of Christ!' And Peter said to Paul:
> 'Go in peace, preacher of truth and good,
> mediator of Salvation to the just!'[1]

Add footnote # (1)

An understandable confusion existed between the two scenes in art. They can usually be identified by their position in the narrative, the final meeting being slightly more common.[2] In its present location the panel has been assumed by the restorers to represent the saints' first meeting (cf. the Tours clerestory window).[3]

The third row of the left lancet now contains panels comprising a scene of Peter, nimbed and holding the

---

[1] June 29, St. Peter, in Voragine, v. 1, pp. 233 and 337. Voragine states that his source was a letter of Pseudo-Dionysius to Timothy on the death of St. Paul.

[2] See: Bourges, window of Lady of Lourdes chapel (Clement and Guitard, pl. XV); Rouen, sacristy, Paul window, 13th c. (Ritter, pl. XXIV-XXVI).

[3] The first meeting of Peter and Paul is shown beside a doorway representing the gate of Rome. It comes after scenes of Peter with James the Less[illegible]r, and before scenes of the miracles, arrest, etc. in Rome (Bourassé and Manceau, pl. X).

lesser

414

key, is accompanied by a haloless figure holding a book; the right panel shows two figures in Jewish caps.[1] Peter was imprisoned by Theophilus of Antioch, by Herod and by Nero, and scenes of the saint before a seated ruler are very common in cycles of his legend. The three panels now grouped together contain no overlapping design elements which would necessitate their being placed adjacently. It is possible that the Jews panel belongs elsewhere, perhaps to a scene of Peter preaching (see infra). The panels of the seated ruler and of Peter and his companion form a logical pair. Whether they simply represent the apostle before a tyrant or the more common scene of Peter (and Paul?) disputing with Simon Magus before Nero is impossible to say.

The later episode was one of the few of Peter's legend to evolve a special format during the thirteenth century: Nero is usually seated to the left; Simon Magus in a hat, sometimes accompanied by an attendant, takes center stage; and Peter (sometimes with Paul) stands to the right.[1] If the subject of the panels of row 3 is indeed this, the Jews panel (right) should be replaced by one of Simon Magus in a hat, possibly the strange panel now in the right lancet, row 4, right. In support of the hypothesis are such factors as the importance of the scene in general, the stress on the Simon Magus episode at Saint-Père and the existence of the peculiar hatted-figure panel now in the other lancet. Factors to be weighed against the hypothesis are the frequency of general scenes of Peter before a crowned ruler and the fact that the eyes of the proposed 'Simon Magus' appear to be looking up. Also, in the suggested arrangement, the intended Simon Magus would necessarily occupy the right rather than the customary central position. The reason is ground color (cf. Pl. 62a). The ground of the seated ruler (left) is red. That of the Peter panel is curiously divided (as in a similar panel in row 4), red behind the left figure and blue behind the other. The consistency of ground colors elsewhere in the window would indicate that any completing

---

[1] The heads of Peter and the Jew on the right are old restorations.

---

[1] Cf.: (a) Bourges, window in Lady of Lourdes chapel (Clement and Guitard, pl. XV); (b) Tours, choir clerestory (ca. 1257-70) (Bourassé and Manceau, pl. X); (c) Catalan altar frontal, Brussels, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, beg. 14th c. (illustrated in Chandler Post, A History of Spanish Painting, Cambridge, 1930, v. 2, fig. 116).

)
close parentheses

416

panel with a blue ground would have to be placed to the right. Color is discussed more generally later.

The fourth row represents a miracle of Peter healing, as do parts of the fifth and seventh rows as well as a misplaced panel now in the seventh row of the right lancet. The 'miracle' panels are the most confused of the series, exhibiting several different styles and offering the meagerest of hints in design and iconographic detail as to their precise subject or original grouping. In the fourth row, as reconstructed, St. Peter with an apostle (in the right panel) is blessing a figure who reclines, hands folded in prayer, before a background of fantastic architecture (center). To the left has been placed a panel of three witnesses, one of whom is praying. The elaborate traceried window in the architecture and the young saint accompanying Peter make the most likely identification of the scene Peter and John healing a cripple at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (Acts III:1-22). These two panels are in the same location they occupied during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, while the left one was in the central light of the row directly above (cf. Pl. 61).[1]

---

[1] Poisson, p. 420; Bulteau, p. 294. As in the previous case, one of the paired panels has been removed in Pl. 61.

In the following row the exact subject and original order are more obscure. The left panel contains city architecture. Peter and a bald and bearded Paul[1] occupy the central light, Peter making a gesture of benediction. The righthand panel is out of place. It contains a haloed saint holding a book, who seems to be supporting (?) a standing figure accompanied by a praying attendant. Weathering has blanched the faces and mutilation has put the gestures out of focus. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the panel was located in the central light of the top row (Pl. 61), very likely its original location. The curved panel which originally occupied the right position in that row (now misplaced in the same location of right lancet) matches it in style and may offer a clue to the subject.

The curved panel in question has been cropped to fit its present location, the top row of the right lancet being shorter than that of the left. Note the relative size of tympana and the fact that St. Peter's feet have been cut off. The panel is not only a misfit in proportion but in subject matter, and unquestionably belongs to the left lancet.

---

[1] There is restoration in the drapery of both figures, particularly of Paul.

It shows a St. Peter in better condition but otherwise very similar to the wreck in the panel of row 5. Before him is a small kneeling figure with two attendants, who is being blessed by Peter's hand. A 'ray' connecting the hand with the supplicant (Pl. 60b) reveals that a representation of the Healing of the sick with Peter's shadow (Acts V:15) was intended, a very rare subject for the thirteenth century. Could the light-colored blob near Peter's hand in the mutilated panel also have been such a ray? It is no more than a guess.

The most likely panel to have accompanied the Peter and Paul of row 5 (center) originally is the panel of the two Jews previously discussed in the third row. The subject would then be 'Peter and Paul preaching,' one treated occasionally in gothic windows.[1] Although the ground colors are the same the decoration of the framing pilasters differs and the suggested grouping must remain hypothetical.

---

[1] See: (a) Poitiers, southeast window of apse (Peter and another saint with a group of men, two in pointed caps, some with raised hands); (b) Lyons, window in Peter chapel (1181-92) (Peter and a companion to right, two men to the left) (illustrated in Bégule, 1880, pl. opp. 106).

419

A word about background color (Pl. 62a), a problem of interest mainly in the left lancet. The grounds of the right lancet are red, excepting only the supposed Simon Magus now in row 4. In the bay as a whole about thirty panels have red grounds and six or less have blue (the ground in architecture panels being difficult to identify) while in three panels the ground is divided. The later three all contain Peter occupying one side of the composition: left lancet, third row center, fourth row right; right lancet, top row right. Was the arbitrarily split ground intended to symbolize Peter's miraculous powers? A naive but appropriate idea for the medium.

In any case the few blue panels do not appear to have been designed at random, but instead form groups either within themselves or with the blue side of a divided panel. The projected grouping of 'Peter and Paul preaching' (see supra) is a case in point. Another would be the meeting of Peter and Paul outside the city gate (left lancet, second row, left and right panels).

The sixth row of the left lancet shows Peter's release from prison by the Angel (Acts XII:3-11). In the center Peter, in prison, is aroused by the angel. To the left the angel leads Peter out. In the righthand panel is a multitude of soldiers in chainmail, the front row of them sitting down. The huge number of guards, very unusual in art, follows the text (Acts XII:4):

> And when he (Herod) had apprehended him, he put him in prison, and delivered him to four quaternions (i.e., sixteen) of soldiers, to keep him. . . .[1] (Vulgate: "tradens quatuor quaternionibus militum").

Put #1 at end of English text

The Saint-Père artist even has augmented the sixteen.

The final row now has filler in the two outer lights framing a panel of the 'healing' group, showing a figure reclining in the foreground. As the head is restored and the upper right part of the panel rather confused, the subject cannot be identified further.[2]

The left lancet, as reconstructed, dwells mainly on Peter's activity in Asia Minor as related in the Acts of the Apostles. The right lancet, on the other hand, is devoted to the largely apocryphal incidents of his apostulate at Rome. The unflagging interest of the middle ages in these stories from Pseudo-Abdias, recorded in the Golden Legend, as well as their unique and unmistakable plots, make them easily recognizable. Iconographically speaking we are at last out of the woods.

---

[1] Holy Bible, King James Version. The Douay-Rheims Version has 'files' for 'quaternions.'

[2] The panel was not photographed in the 1950's, and in its present location at the top of the clerestory it is very difficult to make out. See Pl. 62a, b.

The legend continues in the second row of the right lancet with three episodes in Peter's rivalry with the magician Simon Magus: their contest to resuscitate a dead youth (row 2); Simon's false execution (row 3); and Simon's fall (row 4). The huge amount of space alotted to the scenes reflects the enormous popularity of this section of Peter's apocrypha during the medieval period. While the three incidents chosen for illustration at Saint-Père are not the only stories of Simon Magus which were illustrated in gothic art, it is unusual to find such a number of them in the same work.

Row 2 presents the contest before Nero to resuscitate a dead youth, a subject treated in more detail at Bourges[1] and Lyons.[2] In the legend Simon, having promised to resuscitate the youth, can only make him move his head. Peter, in his turn, orders him to get up and walk, which he does. The Saint-Père panels concentrate on Peter's miracle. Simon Magus does not appear at all. Nero is seated to the left; the shrouded youth reclines in the center, before Peter. The eyes of the former corpse are open (in reference to Simon's partial resuscitation?). Peter points at him in command. In the right panel he obeys, walking with his litter on his shoulder.

---

[1] Bourges, Lady of Lourdes chapel. Two scenes: (a) Simon Magus, wearing a cap, bends over the youth reclining under a coverlet, and places a hand on his chin; Peter stands to the right; (b) Peter, holding a book, and Paul, praying, are beside the youth who, nude under his coverlet, sits up on his couch.

[2] In four scenes (illustrated in Bégule, 1880, pl. opp. p. 106): (a) Simon Magus and attendant beside a man in a shroud on a mattress; (b) the man in shroud sits on his mattress, Peter grasping his arm; (c) Simon hides his head in shame while Peter quiets the companions who intend to stone him; (d) Simon retires, threatening Peter. See discussion in Mâle, Les saints compagnons, p. 105.

Row 3 contains a rarer subject, Simon's false execution. According to the legend Simon agreed to allow himself to be beheaded before Nero, at the last moment magically substituting a ram in his place. The executioner, who has already raised his sword over Simon's head, is turning in great surprise to look at a ram which seems to be butting him from the rear. The design overlaps the irons and unites the three panels into a coherent united scene, the only such row in the window. Note the executioner's hand and sword in the upper corner of the left panel and the ram's body spilling over into the right panel.

The design is perhaps an early work of the artist of Bay 23, a master whose distinctive talent lay in telescoping dramatic detail into vivid pictorial concentration.

While not precisely verisimilitudinous the Simon-ram design is vivid and probably was invented directly from a text such as the Golden Legend.[1]

Row 4 contains two panels of a much earlier style, presenting the popular tale of the Fall of Simon Magus. The third panel, to the right, may be out of place. It depicts two standing figures on a blue ground, one of them dressed in a cap and vair-lined cloak and striding forward with one hand raised. It was suggested earlier that the figure was Simon Magus and belonged with the seated ruler and Peter now in row 3 of the left lancet.

The two panels of Simon's Fall have been designed across the irons, forming a unified scene. Peter and Paul are seen praying in two framing niches to either side of a central tower, from which Simon 'set sail' to fly away from Rome. Simon is shown three times, first held up by two beast-like devils, then falling, and finally fallen to the ground. Of all the apocrphyal stories of Peter the episode of Simon's fall most attracted the medieval audience. It appears regularly in gothic art from the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries. Its popularity in the thirteenth has been attested by Mâle: "Nos vitraux du XIIIe siècle, consacrés à Saint Pierre, ne manquent jamais de représenter la chute de Simon le magicien."[1] Although varying slightly the scene generally maintained a format in which Simon appeared twice, flying and falling, a pattern probably ultimately derived from the lost mosaics of Old St. Peter's, Chapel of John VII (705-07).[2] Saint-Père is quite unusual in augmenting the number of Simons to three.

---

[1] Examples in art are extremely rare. The only other one known to me is a Catalan altar frontal of a date contemporary with the window, and has a much less expressionistic format. A seated Nero with armed guard watches as Simon appears twice, once standing and once kneeling with hair grasped by an executioner with upraised sword. There is no ram. The scene can be identified by the inscription: "His decapitatus simon jussu neri imperatoris." (Illustrated in Josep Gudiol, Els Primitius (La Pintura Mig-eval Catalana), Barcelona, 1929, v. 2, fig. 165 and p. 338).

Another apocryphal episode, 'Domine quo vadis?' appears in two panels of Row 5. The third panel (left), containing fantastic architecture, may or may not have been designed for the spot. As related in the Golden Legend

---

[1] Mâle, Les saints compagnons, p. 105.

[2] See: Grimaldi drawings (ms. Vat. 6429), Codex Barberini lat. 2732, fol. 75v (illustrated in Wilpert, Mos. und mal., text vol., p. 399, fig. 136). Only one Simon Magus figure was shown in the scene in frescoes from the porticus of St. Peter's (Wilpert, p. 403 and fig. 137).

425

Peter, finally agreeing against his wishes to leave Rome, encounters Christ on the Appian Way and asks Him 'Lord, whither goest thou?' Christ replies: 'I go into Rome to be crucified.' Peter, ashamed, returns to Rome to face his martyrdom.[1] No consensus had been reached during the thirteenth century as to the postures of Peter and Christ, sometimes shown both standing, sometimes with Christ emerging from above. At Saint-Père Peter kneels before Christ who stands with a cross-staff, in postures strongly resembling the traditional form of the 'Noli me tangere.' Peter's words are inscribed between them:

DOMINE
Q.V ...
S

As a wall or building was frequently indicated in the background of this scene, the present reconstruction of the row with an architectural panel is quite tasteful.[2]

The last two rows of the right lancet present the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul. The lights of row 6 contain the beheading of Paul (left), the crucifixion of Peter (center) and a seated Nero (right). The top row (Pl. 60b) includes, besides the misplaced panel discussed earlier, a seated Christ with book and orb (center) and an angel receiving the soul of St. Peter (left). Several of these panels remained in the window during the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries in the same location,[1] which is undoubtedly the correct one. The inclusion of the enthroned Nero at the martyrdoms was standard by the thirteenth century. The Nero panel and the two martyrdom panels, however, do not match in style. The former very probably was designed to complete the pair (the earliest designs in the window, ca. 1280's?) when the latter were moved into the clerestory at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The enthroned Christ and angels are also occasional participants at the martyrdoms.[2] It is more than likely that a matching angel, now lost, received Paul's soul where the misplaced right panel now is located.

---

[1] ANT (corrected ed.), p. 333; Voragine, v. 1, p. 336. The ultimate source of the story is considered to be St. Ambrose, 'Sermo contra Auxent.'

[2] Cf.: (a) Angers, Bay 24, north choir; (b) Catalan altar frontal (Gudiol fig. 165).

---

[1] Poisson, p. 420; Bulteau, p. 294; and Pl. 61 (Arch. Phot. 196405 B21647).

[2] See (a) Lyons, window of Peter chapel, 1181-92, where Christ is enthroned between two censing angels (Bégule, *Les vitraux du moyen âge . . . dans la région lyonnaise*, Paris, 1911, fig. 14--drawing); (b) Rouen, Paul window of sacristy, where two angels bear away Paul's soul (Ritter, pl. XXIV-XXVI); (c) Angers, Bay 24, north choir, where angels preside at Peter's crucifixion.

The iconographic formulae for the martyrdoms themselves are of special interest. By the thirteenth century representations of Paul's execution commonly included some reference to his apocryphal legends, either a blindfold over his eyes (referring to Plautilla's veil) or the severed head already on the ground (in reference to the miraculous fountains).[1] The simple beheading at Saint-Père--both in Bay 22 in the nave and later in the hemicycle medallion of Bay 2 (Pl. 14)--probably reflects a model, whether the Troyes window of the 1240's (a monument with considerable influence on the early choir glazing of Saint-Père) or a portable object such as a manuscript or cope.

St. Peter's crucifixion is even more of a curiosity. The apostle is shown in a long robe, upside down, being nailed to the cross by two executioners with hammers. One stands nailing the feet, while the other crouches on the other side and nails one hand; in a word, they are positioned asymetrically. Unlike the crucifixion of Peter in the tracery medallion of Bay 2 of the hemicycle (Pl. 14) (a regional western variant also found at Poitiers, Tours

asym-

---

[1] See discussion of tracery of Bay 2, Ch. IX.

and Angers), the Bay 22 design, dating perhaps several decades earlier, repeats the standard Germanic design, a design hardly varied in eastern Europe from Ottonian and even Carolingian times.[1]

asym-

dating

The German asymetrical pattern is found, also, in a window of Troyes Cathedral dating in the 1240's, and Auxerre, an ambulatory window (ca. 1220-34). Earlier in this study[2] I have tried to draw comparisons of a stylistic nature between trends in stained glass design in Burgundy

---

asym-

[1] The Stuttgart and Munich libraries contain many Romanesque manuscripts with nailed crucifixions of the asymetrical format, one executioner nailing the feet and the other on the opposite side nailing the hand. See also the cover of the reliquary casket of Maurinus, ca. 1180, in Ch. Pantaleon, Cologne, where the pattern of Bay 22 of Saint-Père is exactly reversed (illustrated in Otto von Falke and Heinrich Frauberger, Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters und andere Kunstwerke der Kunst-historischen Ausstellung zu Düsseldorf, 1902, Frankfurt, 1904, pl. 48). For later examples see: (a) 12-13th c. Alsatian lectionary from St. Peter in Schwarzwald (Karlsruhe, Landesbiblio.S. Peter 7, fol. 8v); (b) 2nd half 13th c. Legendarium from Regensburg, Dominican convent of the Holy Cross, in Keble College, Oxford, fol. 102r (illustrated in Hanns Swarzenski, Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main und Donau, Berlin, 1936, pl. 63 (#361)). The formula lasted well into the fourteenth century in the stained glass medium. Example: (a) late 13th c. panel from Wimpfen im Tal (Landesmuseum Darmstadt) (illustrated in CVMA Deustchland I, pl. 550); (b) 14th c. window of Kappenberg Castle, possibly from church in Dausenau; (c) 14th c. window of Ch. Florentius, Niederhaslach (Bas-Rhin).

[2] See Ch. II.

and Champagne and at Saint-Père, from the 1240's through ca. 1280, when the choir of Saint-Père was filled with old glass in a new layout. In the stylistic treatment of Bay 22,[1] the Peter window, I suggested that it contained some of the earliest narrative panels in the church (among them the Peter crucifixion), panels probably reused here to get the campaign of nave glazing underway. The date suggested for these 'earlier' panels, on stylistic grounds, was perhaps as early as ca. 1280.' The discovery of a rare iconographic formula such as the asymetrical, Germanic crucifixion of Peter, included in both the early narrative panels of Saint-Père and in the suggested area of influence of Saint-Père during those years would seem to clinch the argument.

asym –

Equally appropriate is the evidence provided by the discovery of the local Angevin type of symmetrical nailed crucifixion in the Saint-Père hemicycle, Bay 2 (Pl. 14). Whereas those stylistic qualities peculiar to the Western School of glass were in the process of definition during the early campaign at Saint-Père (the choir, both reused glass and glass designed ca. 1275), they realized their supreme moment in the Saint-Père hemicycle at the end of the century. Details of the iconography of Bays 22 and 2, then, hold the key to the wellsprings of the early and the mature styles at Saint-Père. For two designs which, after a all, do not appear to be so very different, their genealogies are surprising.

---

[1] See Ch. IV, Bay 22.

What conclusions can be drawn from the complicated and muddled evidence concerning the sources of the iconography of the Peter window? Let us examine the early pairs of panels first, those probably designed in the last quarter of the thirteenth century for an unknown (lower?) location in the church. This group uses largely traditional iconographic forms: the standing Peter and Paul with attributes, the Receiving of the keys, the fall of Simon Magus and the Vocation are all fairly stable thirteenth century designs. Of the early core of panels only the martyrdoms deviate from the French gothic norm, and these evidently follow Troyes and Auxerre.

The panels designed to augment the early group for placement in the clerestory after 1305 are freer creations. Many appear to have been invented directly from a textual source of apocryphal stories. Even the canonical scenes, such as the Deliverance from Prison, exhibit specific details (in this case the number of soldiers) and a general lack of dramatic order which indicate reliance on texts rather than on art works. As the 1305 panels form the greater part of the window it is their general air of hesitancy and imprecision which govern it and make identifications and reconstructions so difficult. Add to this situation the unfortunate act of fate which chose the Peter window as one of the two to be dismantled in the eighteenth century. It is surprising indeed that the bay is as beautiful of itself and as harmonious a part of the nave series as it is.

F. Bay 26: Saint John the Baptist

The Baptist window (Pl. 76) is the most successful design of the nave's narrative group and a model of clarity and richness. It is organized in the more comfortable five-row format which quickly replaced the original seven-row design in the nave clerestory. The framing canopies of each row are shrunk to minimal size, allowing for taller, more massive--more legible--figures than in any other window of the group. The story unfolds in ten quiet tableaux employing only the essential personae, frequently apportioned one to a panel.

A pair of anonymous secular donors kneel in the lower left panel of the left lancet, observors to the Lord's Baptism. Man and wife, they wear simple robes and caps of popular medieval type. No clue exists to their identity.

The scenes of the Baptist's life run from bottom to top, right lancet first. They are:

Right lancet:	Row 1	Annunciation to Zacharias
	Row 2	Birth of the Baptist
	Row 3	Visitation (right panel)
		Naming of the Baptist (left and central panels)
	Row 4	Baptist rebuking Herod
	Row 5	Preaching in the Wilderness
Left lancet:	Row 1	Baptism of Christ with donors
	Row 2	Feast of Herod and Salome's Dance
	Row 3	Decapitation
	Row 4	Salome presents head to Herodias
	Row 5	Baptist bears witness (symbolic version)

Several scenes, i.e., the Visitation, Baptist rebuking Herod and the 'Bearing Witness,' are out of the regular order. In each case there is a discernible reason. The

Visitation was delayed to allow the artist to spread the Baptist's Nativity across a full row of three panels. The Rebuking of Herod undoubtedly was displaced so that the donors in the bottom row could witness a more suitable devotional scene, that of the Baptism of Christ. The symbolic version of the Baptist bearing witness to Christ is an eminently suitable conclusory scene.[1] Its use as such reflects the growing tendency in gothic art to merge its elements with the devotional image of St. John, the disc of the Agnus Dei thereby becoming his attribute.

The Baptist window is strikingly similar to the Virgin lancet of Bay 19 (Pl. 52) in its concentration on a few dramatic scenes presented with economy and clarity. Decorative and narrative elements are minimal. As an example of the combination of beauty of design and the story-telling function--the artistic problem posed in all medallion and 'legend' windows, but particularly important for those in the clerestory--the Baptist window is a model of its kind.

---

[1] Thirteenth century stained glass cycles which include the 'Bearing Witness' in its correct order (i.e., in the Public Life, usually between the Baptism of Christ and the Feast of Herod) are: (a) Chartres, Bay 117, south choir clerestory (Delaporte, Plates III, Pls. CCXXII-CCXXIII); (b) St. Julien-de-Sault, Baptist window; (c) Sainte-Chapelle, Bay G.

The legend commences with a standard representation of the Annunciation to Zacharias (Luke I:9ff.) in the first row of the right lancet. The haloed Zacharias swings a censer (central panel) before an altar over which an angel appears holding a phylactery (right). Only the two witnesses in the right panel, extremely rare in gothic art, mark the iconography as in any way unusual. Luke I:2 states that Zacharias' companions remained without the temple, and in art works where they are included they are customarily separated from the scene by architecture.[1] The Saint-Père artist has tried to indicate the change of situs by a shift in ground color (see Pl. 74), as he does also in the two scenes of row 3. This fact plus the figures' gestures of surprise offer the explanation. The witnesses are not intended to be present at the Annunciation itself. They embody, instead, a brief reference to a detail of the story less popular in art, that of Zacharias returning speechless to his companions. The compromise is visually effective and in no way impairs the legibility of the basic design. It evidences, moreover, a meticulousness with textual detail which is evident in the window and in several other of the nave clerestories. The same technique of merging elements of two episodes into one scene appears notably in Bay 23 (St. Denis lancet).

---

[1] For example, Lyons Cathedral, west front, central portal (zone 6), 1st half 14th c., where three men appear outside the temple.

The Baptist's Nativity (Luke I:57) of row 2 shows St. Elizabeth reclining, a midwife standing at the foot of her bed.[1] An interesting apocryphal detail is included in the scene, perhaps for the very first time in French art: the Virgin herself is shown holding the newborn child.[2] While the source could be textual, the story being included in the Golden Legend,[3] it was more probably a visual source from Italian art. Even before its inclusion in the latin Meditations of Pseudo-Bonaventure in the late thirteenth century,[4] the story of the Virgin's presence at the Birth of the Baptist was current in Italy. The iconographic format of the Virgin standing and holding the infant Baptist was included in several Italian or Italian-inspired art works in the second half of the thirteenth century and is almost certainly of Italian origin.[1] The significance of the scene's necessary apocryphal detail--actually no more than the Virgin's halo--was not understood in the north before the fourteenth century,[2] and it may have been introduced there in its original form at Saint-Père.

---

[1] The midwife wears a vair-lined cloak!

[2] Mâle lists Saint-Père as the earliest French example he knows of this detail (Les saints compagnons, p. 13) and my research is in agreement.

[3] Voragine, v. 1, p. 323.

[4] See: Pseudo-Bonaventure, Meditations on the Life of Christ, trans. Isa Ragusa and ed. Rosalie Green, Princeton, 1961, pp. 24-25.

Italy may have fostered the iconographic formula but the textual source lies more deeply buried in the eastern apocryphal legends, where the subject of Mary's 'abiding visitation' first took root in apparent contradiction of St. Luke.[3] In the Homilae Jacobus, eleventh century

---

[1] Examples: (a) St. John altar frontal (ca. 1260-70), Siena Pinacoteca (attributed to Siennese school), from the suppressed Convento di Santa Petronilla, Siena; (b) late 13th c. panels (attributed variously to Ravennate school, Umbrian school, Deodato Orlandi), in Berlin, Staatliche Museum (I.1182); (c) mutilated fresco of 2nd half 13th c., Stiftskirche, Seckau (Austria), from a destroyed baptismal chapel.

[2] An extremely odd example is found in a miniature from an antiphonary dated 1290, executed for the Cistercian convent in Beaupré (Brussels, Bibl. Roy., II. 3634$^{1-2}$). All three of the attendants of Elizabeth are nimbed. One sits with the baby on her lap, feeding him with an open-ended horn into which milk is being poured from a pitcher by another attendant, while the third fans the new mother. Clearly the Virgin's halo in some Italian art work has been misconstrued. The view of medieval infant care is delightful.

[3] Luke I:56-58: "And Mary abode with her about three months. And she returned to her own house. Now Elizabeth's full time of being delivered was come: and she brought forth a son." Elizabeth was, however, in her sixth month at the time of Mary's Annunciation. Luke I:36: "And behold thy cousin Elizabeth, she also hath conceived a son in her old age: and this is the sixth month with her that is called barren."

Greek manuscript (Bibl. Vatican, gr. 1162, fol. 159r), the Virgin, although not included in the actual Nativity, is shown conversing at length with Zacharias during her stay. In an Ottonian latin manuscript dated before 1014 (Periscope of Henry II, Munich, Staatsbibl., Clm. 4452, Cim. 57, fol. 150r.) she makes an appearance at the Birth but does not yet hold the child _à la manière italienne_. The legend was definitely not a new one at the time of its general diffusion from Italy ca. 1300. At Saint-Père, however, it perhaps was manifested for the first time in France.

Row 3 comprises the Visitation, delayed for purposes of design until after the Nativity, and the Naming of the Baptist. The artist has varied the grounds to distinguish the two scenes. The two women of the Visitation (Luke I:39ff.) embrace warmly, as they do in the Virgin lancet of Bay 19. The Naming of the Child (Luke I:63) also assumes a typical gothic appearance, Zacharias sitting to the left, two women standing before him with the child. Zacharias is presented in the guise of a medieval scribe seated before his lectern with stylus and knife in hand. These writing implements so well-known from evangelist illuminations were rarely supplied

438

to the father of the Baptist,[1] although he sometimes sits before a lectern in France.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, perhaps through the dissemination of Pseudo-Bonaventura, the scene of the Circumcision, rare in French gothic art, was combined occasionally with the Naming.[2] While a mohel customarily performs the circumcision, in at least one fourteenth century copy of the Meditations (BN ital. 115, fol. 15r.) Zacharias himself holds the knife.[3] Could the Saint-Père artist, confronted by a new iconographic grouping, have translated the knife of the circumcision into a more familiar writing implement? It is quite possible.

The scene which unfolds across row 4 is the displaced episode of the Baptist rebuking Herod (Mark VI:18, Luke III:19). Herod, enthroned to the right, and two of his courtiers standing to the left, flank the towering figure of the

---

[1] Another example is a 12th c. miniature (verso), probably from a psalter, Pierpont Morgan 724. In the window of St. Julien-de-Sault, ca. 1250, Zacharias has a lectern and stylus but no knife.

[2] See, for example, gradual from Katherinenthal, fol. 179, ca. 1312 (coll. D. Perrins, Malvern) (illustrated in CVMA Deutschland I, fig. 11).

[3] Ragusa-Green, pp. 25 and 407 (commentary on the scene's rarity).

Baptist in hairy mantle, the familiar gothic equivalent of the camel's hair raiment mentioned in Matthew III:4 and Mark I:6. The king and courtiers carry gloves, one of the accoutrements in the Saint-Père windows of royal or noble status. The scene, although not among the most familiar of the Baptist's legend, can be found in the windows of Angers and the Sainte-Chapelle.[1] It can with difficulty be distinguished from the episode of John's arrest, in which John is brought before Herod by guards.[2]

The correct order of the Public Life is resumed in the top row of the lancet, where John is shown preaching in the wilderness (Matthew III:1ff.; Mark I:4; Luke III:2; John I:19ff.). The scene is represented with great economy. John in hairy mantle (center) addresses two standing figures (left). Trees (right) and a brown ground pattern of delicate floriate scroll work indicate the wilderness setting.[3] The preaching scene is an iconographic composite which had evolved by the end of the thirteenth century from the rich narrative materials of the canonical texts.

---

[1] Angers, choir window 9 (there are no witnesses and the Baptist holds a cross-staff); Sainte-Chapelle, Bay G, panel G28 (CVMA France I, p. 210) (no witnesses).

[2] Examples: (a) Lausanne, medallion (CVMA Schweiz I, col. pl. 6); (b) Lyons, west front, embrasures of central portal, right side, 1st half 14th c.

[3] Only the ground behind the Baptist and the trees is brown foliate work. Behind the witnesses to the left, the ground is clear blue. In the row below (John Rebuking Herod), the ground behind the witnesses differs from that of the rest of the scene in the same manner.

The two liliputian trees flanking St. John in the center panel, tucked in almost as an afterthought, make this iconographic history clear. At the commencement of the thirteenth century little conformity existed in illustrations of wilderness episodes. In one of the scenes occasionally shown, "John alone in the wilderness," he is flanked by two trees.[1] The device was not always maintained in more specific wilderness scenes such as Preaching, Bearing Witness, the Ax at the foot of the Tree, "I am not the Christ," "I am the Voice," etc. The flanking trees did not entirely disappear, however, and remained in art as a symbol of John's life in the wilderness. A late trace of them is found in the familiar rustic pulpits from which John preaches in French fifteenth century art.[2] The most common form of such pulpits is a horizontal bar between two trees which, of course, flank the Baptist as he preaches.

✓ Joan of Arc
✓

[1] Examples: (a) Bourges, window of Joan of Arc chapel (Martin and Cahier, text vol. p. 278; and Clement and Guitard, pl. XXI); (b) Rouen, window of St. John chapel (Baptist is seated) (Ritter, pls. I-IV).

[2] Mâle, Les saints compagnons, p. 25, states that all 15th c. examples of St. John preaching, to his knowledge, include such a pulpit. They probably derived from the mise-en-scene of medieval mystery plays.

The left lancet of Bay 26 commences with the Baptism of Christ (Matthew III:13-16), observed by the pair of kneeling donors in the left panel. The gothic format for the baptism by infusion, which remained absolutely fixed throughout the thirteenth century, is observed. The Baptist and an angel holding garments flank Christ, who stands nude in the Jordan, the waters rising before Him in undulating horizontal waves. The only detail which varied in this scene for well over a hundred years was the dove of the Holy Spirit mentioned in the gospels and occasionally included in art. At Saint-Père--as in numerous thirteenth and fourteenth century examples[1]--the dove is absent.

Another episode about which the gothic world reached nearly absolute iconographic conformity, the Feast of Herod (Mark VI:21-23), appears in the following row. Herod, flanked by Herodias to the right and two courtiers to the left, sits to a long table laden with plates, pitchers and goblets. Before the table Salome performs an acrobatic maneuver bent backwards in a complete circle, her hands resting against the floor. Herodias is always present at the table in thirteenth century French art, while Salome's pose varies but slightly in detail, never in its basically acrobatic nature, from its introduction in the twelfth century throughout the entire fourteenth century.[1] She appears as a medieval juggler of the type who entertained at fairs and feasts, and the acrobatic stunt she does actually came to be known as the Dance of Salome from its representation in art and mystery plays.[2]

---

[1] See, for example: (a) Sainte-Chapelle, Bay 6, panel G52 (CVMA France I, p. 210); (b) Angers, choir window 9; (c) Clermont-Ferrand, window of St. John chapel (Du Ranquet, pl. opp. p. 132).

juggler

The tragic sequel to the feast unfolds across the following rows. Row 3 shows the Beheading (Mark VI:27-28). As the martyrdom scene the Beheading was extremely popular in art and appears in its traditional form twice at Saint-Père, in the series of martyrdom medallions in the hemicycle (Bay 3) (Pl. 17) as well as in the Baptist window. The saint (center) kneels before architecture representing his prison, an evangelical detail always observed in French gothic art. The executioner (left) grasps him by the hair and raises his sword while Salome (right) waits holding a salver. Nearly identical examples are numerous in gothic art.

---

[1] She walks on hands and feet, as at Saint-Père, in: (a) Lyons apse window, 1st quarter 13th c. (illustrated in Bégule, 1880, fig. 11, p. 114); (b) Sainte-Chapelle, Bay G, panel G17 (CVMA France I, pl. 56). In other examples she walks on her hands, knees bent in the air, and at Clermont-Ferrand she walks on her hands while carrying two swords (Du Ranquet, pl. opp. p. 132).

[2] Réau, v. 2, pt. 1, pp. 453-54, quotes Gautier d'Orleans, who warned his readers against shameless entertainers miming obscenely 'in modum filiae Herodiadis.'

Less rigid conformity was reached on the format of the succeeding scene of Row 4, Salome delivering the head to Herodias (Mark VI:28), although the episode was not uncommon. The scene was sometimes set at the feast table, sometimes reduced to the two women alone. Sometimes both stand and occasionally both mother and daughter grasp the bowl. The Saint-Père design shows Salome (center) presenting the head on a salver to Herodias enthroned (right), while behind the girl the executioner (left) sheathes his sword. The grouping of the two women was approximated at St. Julien-du-Sault, ca. 1250, but the executioner is otherwise unfamiliar and probably was invented by the Saint-Père artist.[1]

The final scene of the window is one of the preaching episodes, the Bearing Witness (John I:35-36), displaced

---

[1] A very close design including a figure behind Salome (an executioner?) occurs on a capital from La Daurade in the Toulouse Museum (late 11th-early 12th c.).

Toulouse

until the end because it is used as a devotional image. The symbolic version of the text, in which St. John shows his disciples a disk with the Agnus Dei, rapidly grew in popularity in the thirteenth century and was maintained well into the fourteenth. It is a more fitting conclusory tableau than the burial scene occasionally found, and more suited to Saint-Père, where scenes after death were unpopular and where no standing figure of St. John appears in the saintly parades of the apse and nave. The Baptist's disk of the Agnus Dei had been metamorphosed into an universal emblem of the Death and Resurrection of Christ by the end of the thirteenth century, and as such appears on seals and coins of the reign of Philippe-le-Bel.[1] Its appropriation in the Baptist window as the climax of the legend is one more indication of the sensitivity and inventiveness of the Saint-Père artist (or iconographer).

The design of the Baptist window, one of the supreme achievements in Saint-Père, was the work of a thoughtful and talented artist. The iconography reveals that he was very much a man of his time. The window, particularly the second lancet, could stand as a canon of

---

[1] Mâle, Les saints compagnons, p. 50.

445

High Gothic practice for the legend. The several hints of apocryphal sources in the early scenes, on the other hand, reveal a receptivity to new forms. Bay 26 is still very much a French gothic work. It includes none of the Infancy scenes which would be introduced in the fourteenth century by the Meditations of Pseudo-Bonaventura. But with the 'nimbed midwife' the first slight evidence of that very influential text in the north possibly appears at Saint-Père.

CONCLUSION

The six immense narrative bays of the nave of Saint-Pere offer vast riches for iconographic study. No two windows offer precisely the same solutions, in source materials or treatment. In some, notably Bay 23 (St. Denis lancet), the use of specific manuscripts is imprinted clearly. In others (the Joachim/Anna lancet of Bay 19, the stories of Catherine and Agnes) the artist probably followed an account like that of the Golden Legend. Bay 18 (the Passion window), a beautifully drawn window which is stylistically the latest of the church, shows indisputably that it was modeled on a source of possibly the twelfth century, almost certainly in black-and-white: an English Romanesque psalter? Isolated details such as the crouching midwife in the Nativity (Bay 19) and the haloed midwife of the Baptist's Nativity (Bay 26) indicate other models, the former a venerable object brought from Rome, perhaps?, and the latter possibly an Italian art work of the late thirteenth century.

What is the lesson taught by such a minute study of a great narrative group? Most centrally, the evidence tells us that the designing of each great bay was a serious concern, a task for which the artist sought preparation in other works of art or texts which were made available to him. Nothing was done carelessly, approximately. The fact that models can be suggested for many scenes is indication enough of the precision of detail therein. Such care would normally be expected in works of art of high quality. It is something of a surprise, however, to find it in the works of a stylistic school such as that of the West of France, the basic traits of which were broadness, vigor, an unconcern with the niceties of elegant proportion where an effect could be produced by expressionistic means. One is left with a sense of respect for those medieval craftsmen who studied sources, texts, models, and then went ahead to design windows which dazzle us by their color, delight us with their variety and vigor, and awe us with their spirit.

The choice of subjects is instructive. There is a pattern, a definite program for the whole ensemble--

one that was consistently maintained throughout a period of a half-century of glazing campaigns. The choir presents its orderly procession of prophets and patriarchs of the Old Testament. The hemicycle shows references to the central events of the New Testament (the Virgin and Child or Incarnation and the Crucifixion) framed by representatives of the Church on Earth (apostles, martyr-saints, prelate-saints). The nave presents an ordered view of the history of Christianity: from the Baptist, its great precursor; through the Christological and Mariological cycles; to the great saints, the latter chosen with sophisticated, rather than blatant, reference to the abbey church which houses them.

Several features are noteworthy about the ensemble. First of all, the completeness and consistency of the program is, as far as we are able to tell from the gothic remains of glass elsewhere, unusual. It is the more unusual considering the span of time involved. Second, a nice, one might say tasteful, balance is observed between the great themes of Christianity and those particular to the abbey itself. A third point which strikes the observer is how little the program derives from themes and forms dictated by the cathedral. This fact is really not so surprising. Not only was Saint-Père glazed several generations after the cathedral was finished, but the latter had no great glass program to offer as iconographic model. Excepting the roses, it had no program at all, it seems, except a logical and commonly observed stylistic format of standing figures above and medallion scenes below. The patronage was, of course, different, as were the times. The cathedral windows, very many of them, were paid for by guilds and individuals, and in a tearing hurry. At Saint-Père we don't know what was (or perhaps was not) intended for the aisles, but the clerestories were planned, clearly, by a few strong personalities whose chief interest lay not in personal goals but in the adorning of a beautiful abbey-church.

The cathedral chapter and the monks of the abbey were at war during most of the thirteenth century. By the end of that period they seem to have risen to a less petty and more Christian peace, possibly reflecting royal interest in the abbey. Several of the canons gave sums to the abbey's final glazing program in the nave, at any rate. Beyond that, however, the outlines of social history are blurred. The most surprising omission in the Saint-Père glass is the absence of any reference to Fulbert, the sainted and legendary bishop of the cathedral whose tomb lay in the abbey-church itself. Perhaps his name was included, along with St. Lubin (also a bishop of Chartres), among the inscriptions now lost from Bay 25.

Relics play almost no part in the choice of subjects. The abbey owned pieces of Sts. Ignatius, Philip and Soline, and possibly of the true cross and St. Stephen.[1]

---

[1] The relic of St. Ignatius (probably Ignatius Theophorus, bishop of Antioch, d. 107 A.D.) is mentioned as the object of a dispute with the cathedral in 1233. That of St. Soline, a virgin martyred in Chartres, was provided with a new reliquary in 1325. The relics of St. Stephen and St. Philip, mentioned in the 1399 inventory, were probably gifts to the abbey by the seigneurs de Puiset (the Chartrain house to which St. Gilduin was related) on return from crusade to seal a peace-pact made before they left. See F. de Mely, "Les inventaires," v. 4, pp. 316-17 and v. 5, pp. 63-64 (quoting Souchet, _Histoire du diocèse et de la ville de Chartres_, Chartres, 1867-76, v. 2, p. 157: ". . .qu'en même temps que Louis, comte de Blois et de Chartres, était en Orient, un seigneur d'Ouarville en Chartrain rapporta des reliques de saint Philippe qu'il offrit à l'église de son bourg.")

Unfortunately the only inventory of the abbey which dates before the glazing campaigns (Chartres, Bibl. Mun. ms. 31, 1-B, 10th c.) lists no relics by name, simply 10 reliquaries ('filacteria (x)') (de Mely, v. 4, p. 313; l'Abbé Poisson, "Inventaire de Saint-Père," _Annales archéologiques_, v. 7, 1850, p. 307).

None is the subject for a window (Philip takes his place quietly among the apostles). Of the named standing saints in the clerestory, none can be explained on the basis of the abbey's relics. St. Lubin of Bay 25 was a bishop of the cathedral; the other named bishop is St. Martin, one of the great saints of France. The name of St. Maur in Bay 29 may be a later addition, and at any rate merely underlines the abbey's Benedictine status.

One must conclude that, not only did the iconography of the cathedral glass and sculpture have no influence at Saint-Père, but neither did the cults of the abbey itself. The iconography points not inward but out to the abbey's larger relationships--with the crown and with the history of the Christian Church.

Another explanation seems more plausible, perhaps. The ultimate sources of Saint-Père are in Champagne and northern Burgundy. This is true in many aspects of style, such as the interest in combining color and grisaille, the use of large medallion frames for standing figures, etc. It is equally so, it would seem, in the iconographic program, at its origin at any rate. The idea of placing a Virgin and Child and a Crucifixion in the axial bay, flanked by apostles and prelate-saints, seems to have originated in Reims in the late twelfth century.[1] There are a few intermediaries, the chief in the west being Le Mans (mid-thirteenth century), where the idea is rather over-enthusiastically elaborated and where, it would seem, individual donors must have had some voice. Le Mans contains both Western and non-Western glass. In the Le Mans clerestory, apostles (Bays A, B and D, north) saints (Bays C and F, north), and bishop-saints (Bays I, J and K, south) (placed over a wild assortment of groups and individuals in the category of patrons), do flank an axial bay (G) showing the Crucifixion and Virgin and Child, both themes being

---

[1] I am indebted to Professor William M. Hinkle of Columbia University for suggesting the investigation of this idea. See his book, The Portal of the Saints of Reims Cathedral, 1965, Appendices G and J, for the programs of the clerestory windows of St.-Remi and of Reims Cathedral. The Saint-Remi program included the Virgin and Child in the axial bay of the clerestory, above a monumental Crucifixion directly beneath in the tribune, and flanked by apostles, prophets and archbishop-saints (see VF, p. 108). The Cathedral of Reims (both the early and later glazing campaigns?) included both a Virgin and Child and a Crucifixion in the axial clerestory, flanked by apostles and prelate-saints. Of the earlier campaign, which seems to have been generally similar to that of Saint-Remi, the Virgin and Child lancet (as well as some flanking ones) remain. (See Hans Reinhardt, La Cathedrale de Reims, Paris, 1963), p. 186 and pl. 42). Because of the fragmentary nature of the remains of the earlier campaign, the program of Virgin and Child and Crucifixion side by side in axial clerestory bay can be dated with certainty only from the later Reims campaign initiated by Henry de Braisne, c. 1235-45. According to Dr. Jane Hayward (communication of April 1969), the combination of Virgin and Child and Crucifixion in the axial bay was common in small, parish church programs in western France in the early 13th c.

453

elaborated with scenes over them of a Christ showing His Wounds and a Coronation of the Virgin by an angel. Scale and style are also in exuberant disorder.

by

At Saint-Père order is again restored. Guild donations and the like are again dispensed with. The place of Henry de Braisne and the emblem of his see (Reims), and of Bishop Geoffroy de Loudun and the eight copies of his coat-of-arms (Le Mans) has been filled, at Saint-Père, by symbols not of an abbot but of the abbey itself, and one with royal pretensions at that: its own saint Gilduin, whose miracles provided in a very real sense its very fabric; and St. Louis, grandfather of the probable kingly patron.

What useful purpose is served by a detailed monograph of the stained glass of Saint-Père de Chartres? First of all, an examination of the documentation peels away a few layers of guidebook 'myth' which have gradually accrued to this monument as to almost all remnants of the medieval world left to us. The picture of the abbey in its richest and most active period comes into sharper focus; the busy campaigns of building and glazing take on air of a greater reality.

peels

A study of the style of these windows, not only internally but in comparison to other regional monuments, helps to rebuild an artistic heritage in the glass medium which had been lost sight of. The delineation of the Western school is not only helpful to our understanding of provincial gothic art. It provides one more facet to the composite which is French medieval art.

The iconography of this series of windows provides many more details to fill in this general picture of multiplicity and rich variation. French gothic art was not monolithic--that has been realized for a long time--but the exploration of its variety and range has only just begun. This is true not only of the medium of glass--but, perhaps, particularly of the medium of glass. Stained glass studies are barely emerging from a long infancy.

In the Preface to this study it was pointed out that the clerestory ensemble at Saint-Père is a rarity, a full set. One lesson which cannot help but impress is that of the programmatic homogeneity of this full set, ranging in date, as it does, over three-quarters of a century. Perhaps medieval artists were more conscious

455

of the 'whole' than we have thought. Perhaps it is time and troubles, not the originator's intent, which have touched medieval monuments with that air of the amalgam which is so often present. Why do the two towers of Chartres cathedral look different, the tourist asks? Didn't the artist care? Perhaps he did care very much, but ran out of money, or died. Scholars may realize the grand intent in the grandiose dreams of medieval artists, but it is an evanescent concept to document.

The Saint-Père ensemble not only makes use of older glass in new settings, but builds stylistically and iconographically upon itself until the very moment of its completion. Perhaps we are coming to realize that medieval art, which seems so often iconoclast, so constantly changing, discarding, rejecting, did indeed relish and appreciate its own achievements.

In the Preface the hope was expressed that a close examination of Saint-Père would help illuminate a little-understood moment of transition in the stained glass medium, between the recognized achievements of the early thirteenth century and those of a century later. The energy and verve with which this transition was undertaken are certainly evident at the very least. Many more studies are needed--not only monographic and documentary in nature but of the experimental color harmonies, the new designs and layouts. Saint-Père is probably not the only monument where an alternative band window was invented, ultimately to be discarded. One can hardly dream of the diversity awaiting scrutiny.

The study of these windows is finally, one hopes, of some intrinsic value. How they dazzle us, when we stand far below them, necks bent back, mouths open. Man has made something beautiful and it cannot be wrong to enjoy it.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following bibliography has been selected on the basis of specific concern with the problems of Saint-Père and/or frequency of reference in the footnotes. The choices of both omission and inclusion were necessarily arbitrary in many cases. Additional references will be found in the text, especially to comparative materials, to works cited chiefly for illustrations, and to archival materials, mainly in Chartres (Arch. d'Eure-et-Loir) and in the Commission des Monuments Historiques in Paris.

The following abbreviations have been employed throughout the text:

VF - Marcel Aubert et al, *Le vitrail français*, Paris, 1958. Of primary interest:

- Jean-Jacques Gruber, "Technique"
- Louis Grodecki, "Dès origines à la fin du XIIe siècle"
- Louis Grodecki, "De 1200 à 1260"
- Jean Lafond, "De 1380 à 1500"

CVMA - *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*

Belgique I: Jean Helbig, *Les vitraux médiévaux conservés en Belgique 1200-1500*, Bruxelles, 1961.

Deutschland I: Hans Wentzel, *Die Glasmalereien in Schwaben von 1200-1350*, Berlin, 1958.

France I: Louis Grodecki and Jean Lafond, *Les vitraux de Notre-Dame et de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris*, Paris, 1959.

Schweiz I: Ellen J. Beer, *Die Glasmalereien der Schweiz vom 12. bis zum Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Basel, 1956.

Skandinavien: *Die Glasmalereien des Mittelalters in Skandinavien* (Aron Andersson: Schweden), Stockholm, 1964.

"Aganon vetus," cartulary of 1066-88 by the monk Paul, Chartres, Bibl. Mun ms. 1060 (burned in World War II).
Twelfth century copy, Chartres, Bibl. Mun. ms. 1061 (also destroyed).
Included in Guérard.

Anselme, Père, *Histoire genealogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, Paris, 1726, v. 1.

Sainct-Pere

Aubert, Dom Bernard, "Veritable inventaire de l'histoire de la royalle abbaye de Saint-Pere-en-Vallee de Chartres, 1672," Chartres, Bibl. Mun. ms. 1151 (unpaginated, charred in World War II). Eighteenth century copy, from Gaignières collection: B.N. fr. 22474.

Arnold, Hugh, *Stained Glass of the Middle Ages in England and France*, 2nd. ed., London, 1939.

Bégule, Lucien, *Les vitraux du moyen âge. . . dans la région lyonnaise. . .*, Paris, 1911.

________. *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Lyon*, Lyon, 1880.

Berger, Eugène, "Etude historique et archéologique sur l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres," thesis, Ecole des Chartes, 1913 (summarized in *Positions des thèses*, 1913, pp. 9-18).

Bienvenüe, Paule, "Les bâtiments conventuels de l'ancienne abbaye Saint-Père de Chartres," *Bulletin monumental*, v. 116, 1958, pp. 7-27.

Biver, Comte Paul and Edmond Socard, "Le vitrail civil au XIVe siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, v. 77, 1913, pp. 258-64.

Boissonnot, Chanoine H., *Les verrières de la cathédrale de Tours*, Paris, 1932.

Bouchot, Henri, *Inventaire des dessins exécutés pour Roger de Gaignières et conservés aux Départements des Estampes et des Manuscrits*, Paris, 1891, v. 1.

Chanoine

Bourassé, Chanoine Jean-Jacques and F.G.M. Manceau, *Verrières du choeur de l'église métropolitaine de Tours*, Paris-Tours, 1849.

Branner, Robert, *The Painted Medallions in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris*, (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s., v. 58, pt. 2), Philadelphia, 1968.

Brassinne, Joseph, *Le psautier liègois du XIIIe siècle*, Bruxelles, 1923.

Brossier-Géray, "Le rouleau mortuaire de Guy Ier, Abbé de Saint-Père de Chartres, 1231," *Bulletin de la Société Dunoise*, v. 3, 1875-80, pp. 228-40.

Bulteau, l'Abbé, *Description de la cathédrale de Chartres*. . ., Chartres, 1850.

Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1908.

Bye, Arthur Edwin, "Three Glass Panels with St. Nicholas," *Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, v. 19, no. 81, Dec. 1923, pp. 43-45.

Cahier, Charles and Arthur Marie Martin, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges*, Paris, 1841-44.

Ceuneau, Chanoine Augustin, *Evron, la basilique et l'abbaye bénédictines, la ville*, Evron, 1949.

Christie, A.G.I., *English Medieval Embroidery*, Oxford, 1938.

Clement, Silvain and A. Guitard, *Vitraux de Bourges*, Bourges, 1900.

Clerval, A., *Guide chartrain*, Chartres, n.d. (5th. ed. is 1927).

d'Armancourt, Comte, "Chartres. Notes héraldiques et généalogiques," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Le Cinquantenaire*, v. 1, 1906, pp. 126-416.

de Farcy, Louis, *La broderie du XIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours. . . .*, Paris-Angers, 1890-1900, v. 2.

Chanoine

Delaporte, Chanoine Yves, *Les manuscrits enluminés de la Bibliothèque de Chartres*, Chartres, 1929.

Delaporte, Chanoine Yves and Etienne Houvet, *Les vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres*, Chartres, 1926, text vol. and 3 vols. plates.

de Lasteyrie, Ferdinand, *Histoire de la peinture sur verre*, Paris, 1857.

de Mély, F., "Les inventaires de l'abbaye de Saint-Père-en-Vallée," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 4th ser., v. 4 (v. 36), July 1886, pp. 306-17; v. 5 (v. 37) Jan. 1887, pp. 63-72.

Deschamps, Paul, "La statue de Saint-Louis à Mainneville (Eure)," *Monuments et mémoires* (Fondation Eugène Piot), v. 37, 1940, pp. 120-33.

De Terline, Joseph, "La fête de Saint Louis à Saint-Germain-en-laye," *Monuments et mémoires* (Fondation Eugène Piot), v. 45, 1951, pp. 123-40.

7

du Chesne, André, *Histoire genealogique de la maison royale de Dreux*, Paris, 1631.

du Jardin, Dom Charles, "Abrégé de l'Histoire de St. Pere de Chartres," Monasticon benedictinum, (seventeenth-eighteenth century), B.N. ms. lat. 12689, pp. 214-326.

N

Durand, Paul, "Eglise de Saint-Père à Chartres; explication de la nouvelle décoration exécutée dans la chapelle de la Sainte-Vierge," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir*, *Mémoires*, v. 3, 1863, pp. 298-320.

du Ranquet, Henri, *Les vitraux de la Cathédrale de Clermont-Ferrand*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1932.

E-B (hyphen)

Erlande-Brandenburg, Alain, "Le tombeau de Saint Louis," *Bulletin monumental*, v. 126, 1968, pp. 7-36.

Geijer, Agnes, *Textile Treasures of Uppsala Cathedral*, Stockholm, 1964.

Grodecki, Louis, "Mélanges: la quatrième réunion internationale du *Corpus vitrearum medii aevi* et ses enseignements," *Bulletin monumental*, v. 121, 1963, pp. 73-82 (esp. pp. 78-79).

________. *Vitraux de France du XIe au XVIe siècle*, (Catalog of exposition *Vitraux de France*, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1953), Paris, 1953.

________. *Vitraux des églises de France*, Paris, 1947.

Gruber, Jean-Jacques, "Quelques aspects de l'art et de la technique du vitrail en France (Dernier tiers du XIIIe siècle, premier tiers du XIVe)," in l'Université de Paris, Faculté des lettres, *Travaux des étudiants du Groupe d'Histoire de l'art*, Paris, 1927-28, pp. 71-94.

Guérard, Benjamin, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Père de Chartres*, (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Première série, Histoire politique, Collection des cartulaires de France, tomes 1-2), Paris, 1840, 2 vols.

Guibert, Joseph, *Les dessins d'archéologie de Roger de Gaignières*, Paris, n.d., Series II, Vitraux, Planches 1 à 100 (Ambroise-Etival).

Guilhermy, Baron François de, "Notes sur diverses localités de la France. Chalons-sur-Marne--Clermont-Ferrand," 1856-58, BN nouv, acq. fr. 6098, esp. fols. 197-99r.

Harrison, Madeline, "A Life of St. Edward the Confessor in Early Fourteenth Century Stained Glass at Fécamp, in Normandy," *Journal of the Warburg-Courtauld Institutes*, v. 26, 1963, pp. 22-37.

entries

Hayward, Jane, stained glass entries in Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Medieval Art from Private Collections*, (exhibition at The Cloisters, 1968-69), New York, 1968.

Hayward, Jane and Louis Grodecki, "Les Vitraux de la cathédrale d'Angers," *Bulletin monumental*, v. 124, 1966, pp. 7-67.

Hinkle, William M., "The Iconography of the Four Panels by the Master of Saint Giles," *Journal of the Warburg-Courtauld Institutes*, v. 28, 1965, esp. pp. 112ff.

Hucher, Eugène, *Calques des vitraux peints de la cathédrale du Mans*, Paris and Le Mans, 1864.

James, Montague Rhodes, trans., *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1953 (corrected ed.).

Jossier, l'Abbé O.-F., *Monographie des vitraux de Saint-Urbain de Troyes*, Troyes, 1912.

Jouven, Georges, "Saint Pierre de Chartres, étude archéologique," thesis, Commission des Monuments historiques, 1946-47.

Jusselin, Maurice, "Les peintres-verriers à Chartres au XVIe siècle," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Mémoires*, v. 16, 1931, pp. 153-254.

________. "Un donateur pour les verrières de Saint-Père de Chartres au début du XIVe siècle," *Bulletin monumental*, v. 89, 1930, pp. 540-41.

Lafond, Jean, "Études sur les vitraux de Saint-Ouen," in André Masson, *L'église abbatiale Saint-Ouen de Rouen*, Paris, 1927, pp. 74-91.

________. "La famille Pinaigrier et le vitrail parisien au XVIe et au XVIIe siècles," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1957, pp. 63-75.

________. "Le vitrail du XIVe siècle en France," in Louise Lefrançois-Pillion, *L'art du XIVe siècle en France*, Paris, 1954, pp. 187-238.

________. "Le vitrail en Normandie de 1250 à 1300," *Bulletin monumental*, v. 111, 1953, pp. 317-58.

________. "Les vitraux de la Cathédrale Saint-Etienne d'Auxerre," *Congrès archéologique*, v. 116, 1958, pp. 60-67.

________. "Les vitraux de l'abbaye de la Trinité de Fécamp," chap. XLVIII of *Fécamp, l'Abbaye bénédictine, ouvrage scientifique du treizième centenaire, 658-1958*, Fécamp, 1961, v. 3, pp. 97-120, 253-64 and Addenda p. 105.

________. "Les vitraux de la cathédrale de Sées," *Congrès archéologique*, v. 111, 1953, pp. 59-83.

________. "Les vitraux de la cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Troyes," *Congrès archéologique*, v. 113, 1955, pp. 29-62.

Lecocq, Ad., "Dissertation historique et archéologique sur la question: Où est l'emplacement du tombeau de Fulbert, évêque de Chartres, au XIe siècle?", *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Mémoires*, v. 5, 1877, esp. pp. 310-21.

________. "Monuments chartrains de la collection Gaignières," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Proces-verbaux*, v. 3, 1868, pp. 238-43.

Ledit, Chanoine Charles J., "Le samit de Troyes" and Marguerite Dubuisson, "La chape pontificale de Montiéramey," *Zodiaque*, v. 67 (16ième année), Jan. 1966, pp. 2-6 and 7-14 and pls.

small a

Lefèvre-Pontalis, Eugène, "L'Eglise abbatiale d'Evron (Mayenne)," *Bulletin monumental*, v. 67, 1903, pp. 299-342.

Lillich, Meredith, "Découverte d'un vitrail perdu de Saint-Père de Chartres," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Mémoires*, année 108, no. 13, 1964, pp. 264-68.

B N

"Livre d'argent," twelfth century including charts from 928-1171, B.N. ms. lat. 10101. Included in Guérard.

Longnon, A., *Documents parisiens sur l'iconographie de Saint Louis*, Paris, 1882.

✓

Lorin, Charles, "Les vitraux de moyen âge, ceux de Chartres en particulier," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Le Cinquantenaire*, V. 1, 1906, esp. p. 465.

________. "Médaillon du XIIe siècle dans l'église Saint-Pierre de Chartres," *Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Le Cinquantenaire*, v. 1, 1906, pp. 508-14.

Mâle, Emile, "Histoire et légende de l'apôtre saint André dans l'art," *Revue des deux-mondes*, Oct. 1951, pp. 412-20.

Mâle, Emile, "La vie de Saint Louis dans l'art français au commencement du XIVe siècle," in *Mélanges Bertaux*, Paris, 1924, pp. 193-204.

________. *Les saints compagnons du Christ*, Paris, 1958.

Martin, Henri, *Légende de Saint Denis*, Paris, 1908.

Merlet, Lucien and E. Bellier de la Chavignerie, "Documents sur des travaux exécutés à Notre-Dame de Chartres et dans d'autres églises du pays chartrain pendant le seizième siècle," *Archives de l'art français*, v. 7, 1855-56, esp. pp. 384-90.

Merlet, René, "Visite des monuments de Chartres, Saint-Père-en-Vallée," *Congrès archéologique*, v. 67, 1900, pp. 51-52.

Chartes

Michon, Louis-Marie, "L'Abbaye de St.-Père de Chartres, étude archéologique sur l'église abbatiale et les bâtiments monastiques," thesis, Ecole des Chartes, 1922 (summarized in *Positions des thèses*, 1922, pp. 95-103).

Montfaucon, Dom Bernard de, *Les monumens de la monarchie françoise*, Paris, 1730, v. 2.

K

Muley, Dom Charles, copy of the abbey archives made for King Louis XIV, 1772-75, Chartres, Bibl. Mun. ms. 1136. Included in Guérard.

Paris, Bibl. Nat., Dept. des Manuscrits (Omont), *Vie et histoire de Saint Denys*, Paris, 1905.

Pasquier, l'Abbé Victor, *L'église et l'abbaye de Saint-Pierre de Chartres, notice historique et guide*, Chartres, 1921.

Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, *Catalogue of the Collection of Stained and Painted Glass in the Pennsylvania Museum*, introd. by Arthur Edwin Bye, Philadelphia, 1925.

Poisson, l'Abbé Jean-Charles-Benjamin, *Chroniques de l'abbaye royale de St.-Père-en-Vallée*, Chartres, 1857.

________. "Inventaire de Saint-Père," *Annales archéologiques*, v. 7, 1850, p. 190.

Pseudo-Bonaventura, *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, Isa Ragusa, trans., and Rosalie Green, ed., Princeton, 1961.

Ritter, Georges, *Les vitraux de la Cathédrale de Rouen*, Cognac, 1926.

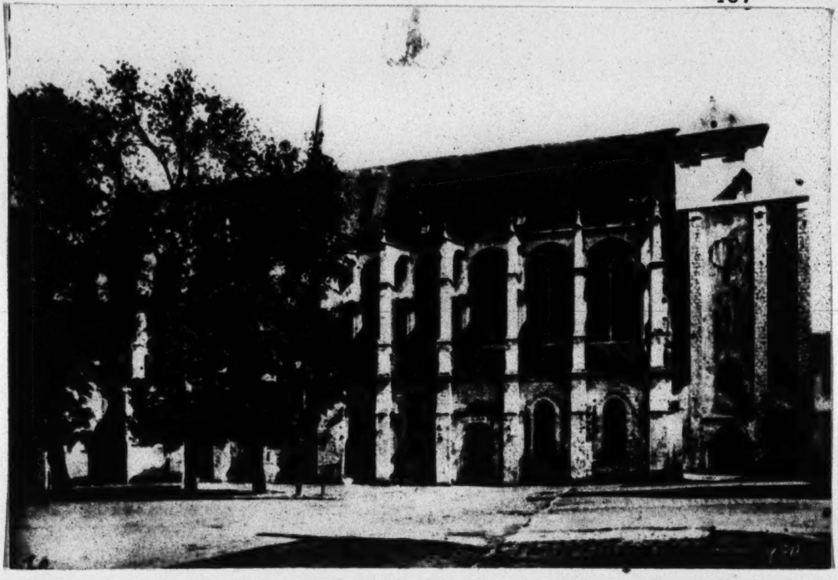
S. Y. S., "Two Examples of Stained Glass," *Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, v. 17, no. 65, Feb. 1920, pp. 5-13.

Sauvel, Tony, "Le crucifiement de Saint Pierre," *Bulletin monumental*, v. 97, 1938, pp. 337-52.

Thomas, Roy Grosvenor, *Stained Glass, its Origin and Application*, New York, 1922.

D Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, v. 9, Paris, 1868, pp. 373-462 ("Vitrail.")

Voragine, Jacopus de, *The Golden Legend*, trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger, London, 1941, 2 vols.



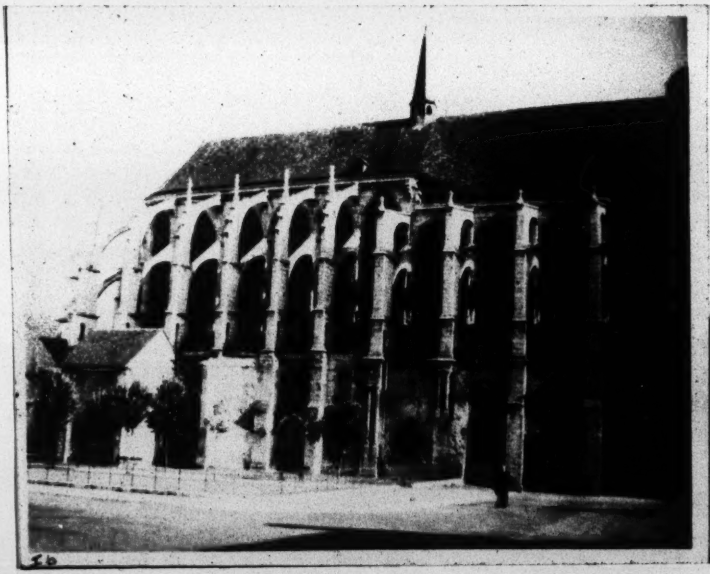
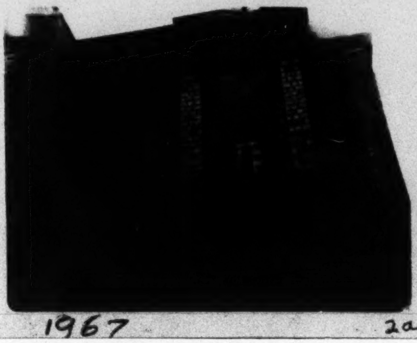
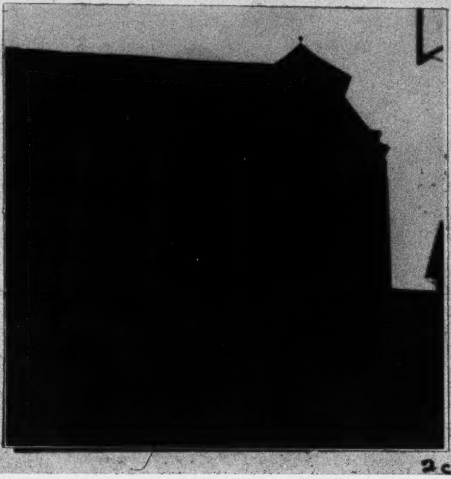


Photo: Carl Barnes

1
Saint-Père de Chartres, north side



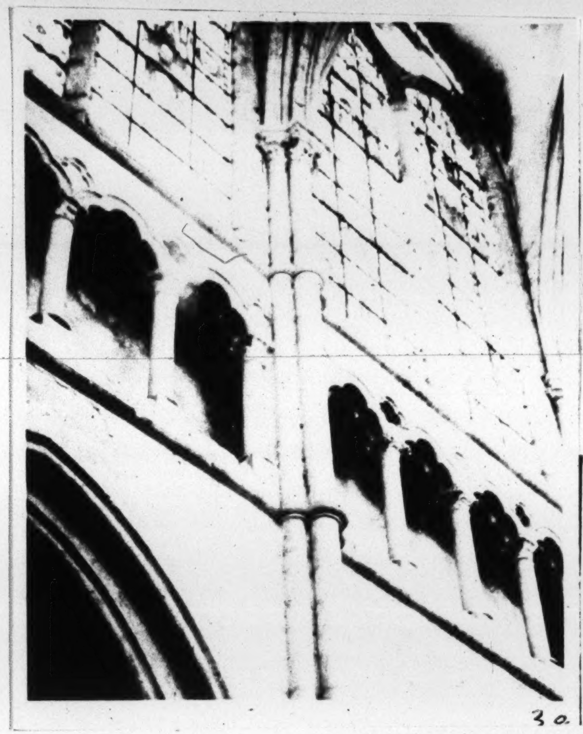
1967 2a



2c

1967 2b

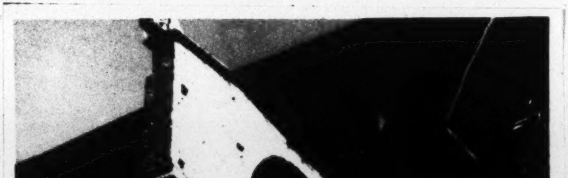
2
Tower - north side



3
Nave triforium and clerestory - South side

Photo: Carl Barnes

3a

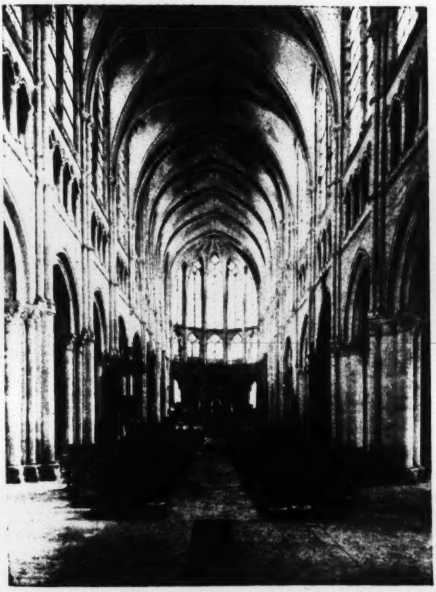


3b
Nave buttress - north side

Photo: Carl Barnes

3b

470



4

Eglise abbatiale Saint-Pierre. Nef et bas-côtés XIIIe siècle.

4
Nave - looking east

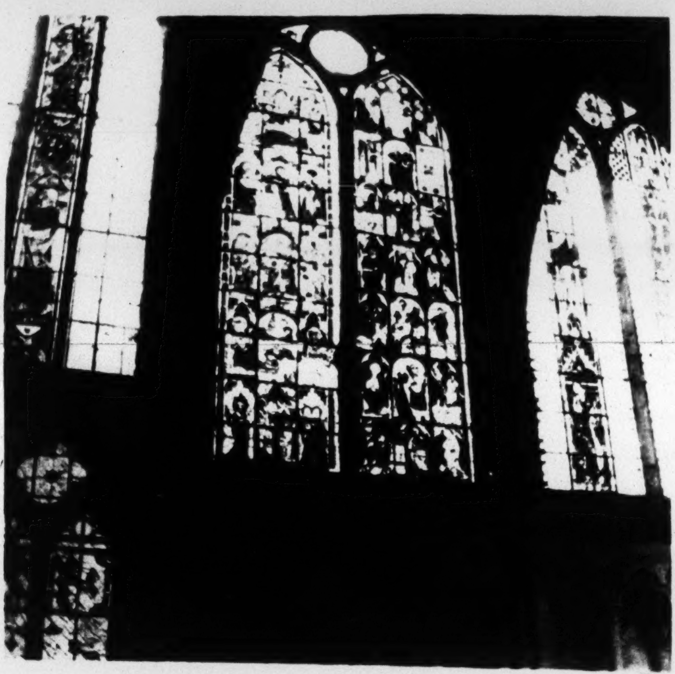
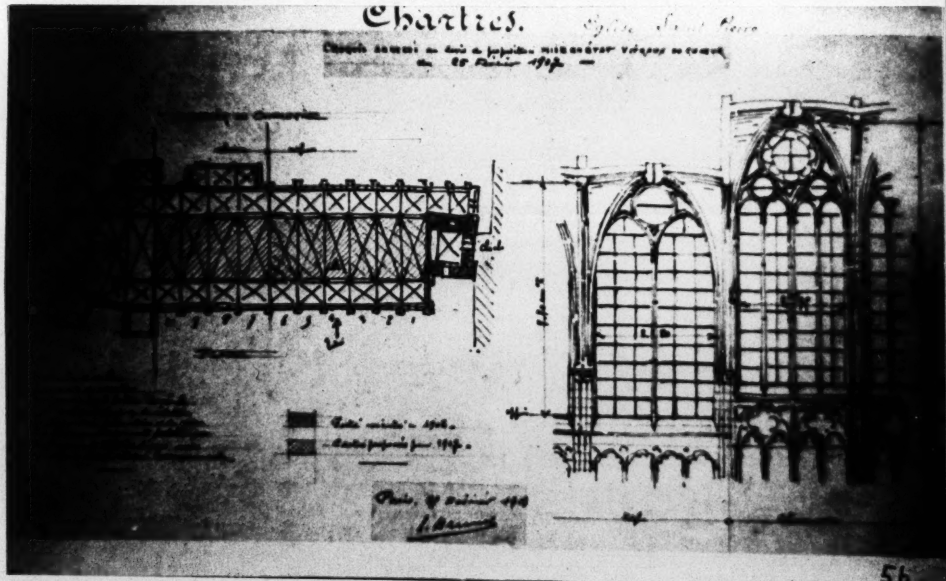


Photo: Jean Trouvelot

5a

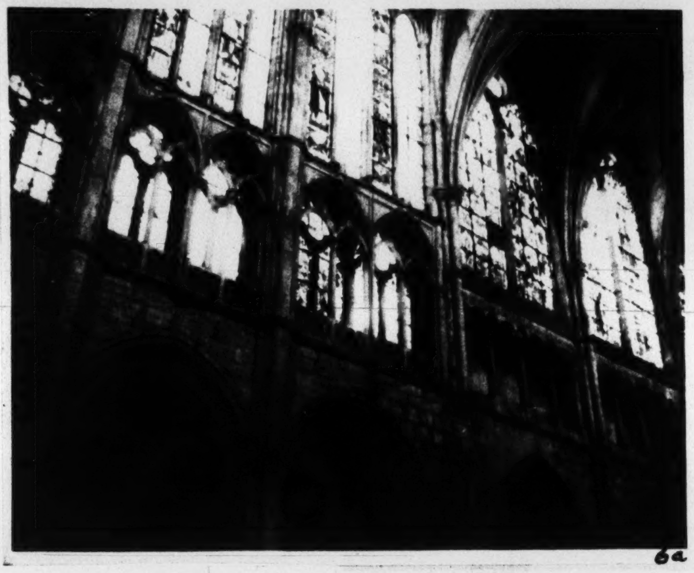
5a
Nave and choir - south side (1933)


Chartres.
Eglise Saint Pierre

5b

5b
Plan and drawings submitted in project to restore windows, 1906-7 (E. Brunet).

472



6a

Photo: Carl Barnes

6a
Choir and nave - south side

6b
Choir and nave-north side

6c
Choir exterior

473

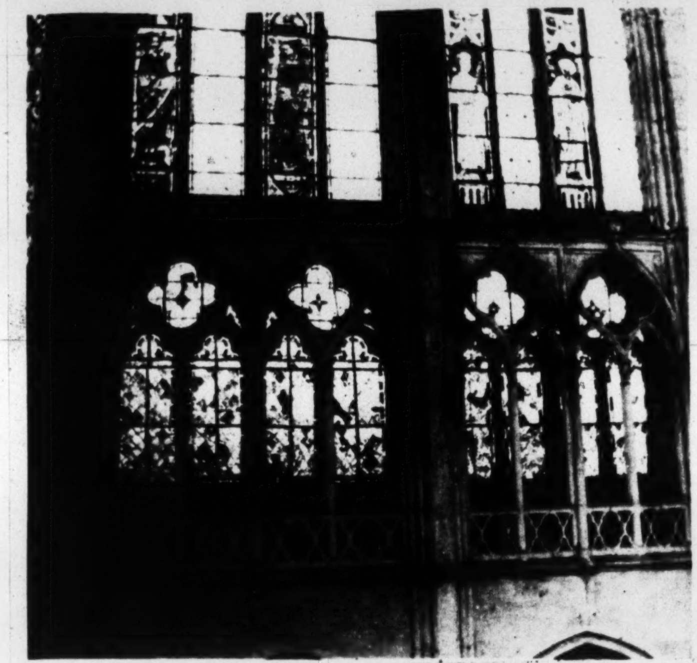


Photo: Jean Trouvelot

7a
Choir triforium - north side
Bays 16 & 14. (1933)

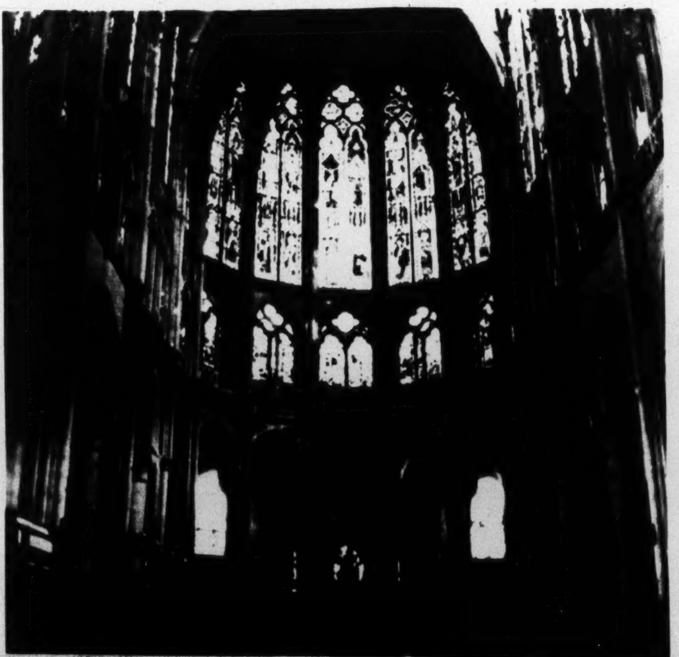


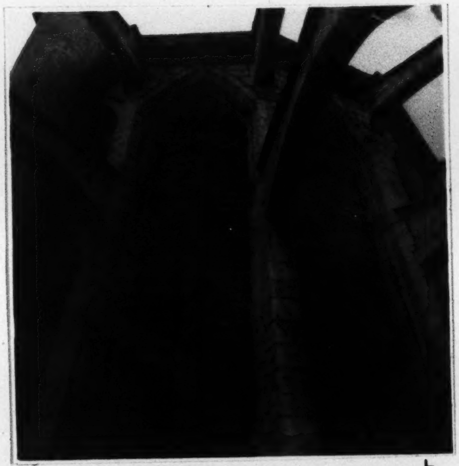
Photo: Jean Trouvelot

7b
Choir interior (1933)

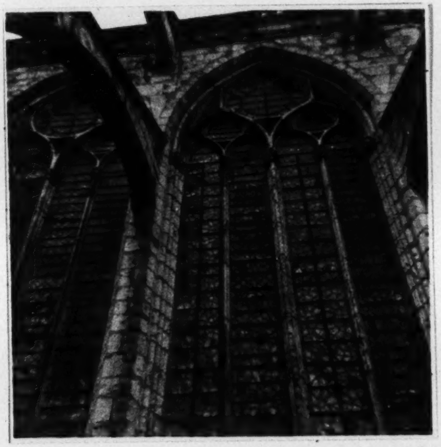
7b

8
Chevet - exterior
(a) north side
(b) apse (south)
(c) straight choir (south)
(d) apse (south) - imposts
(e) straight choir - no imposts

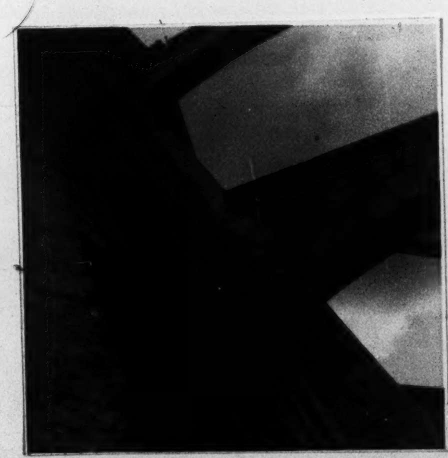
a



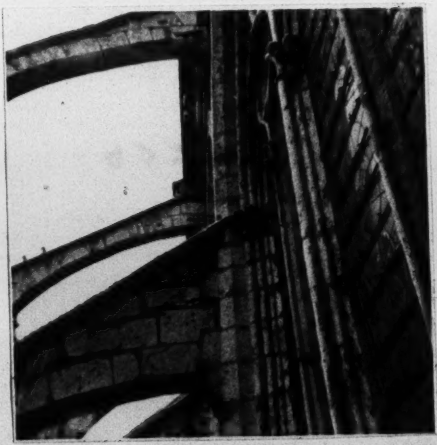
b



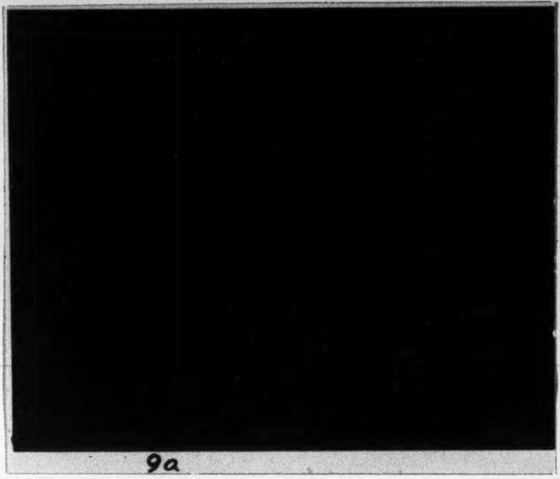
c



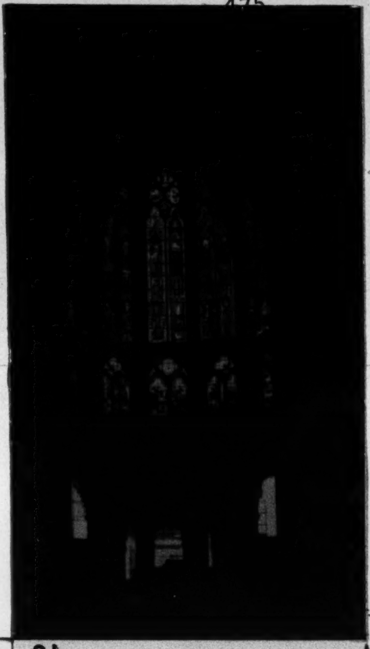
d



e

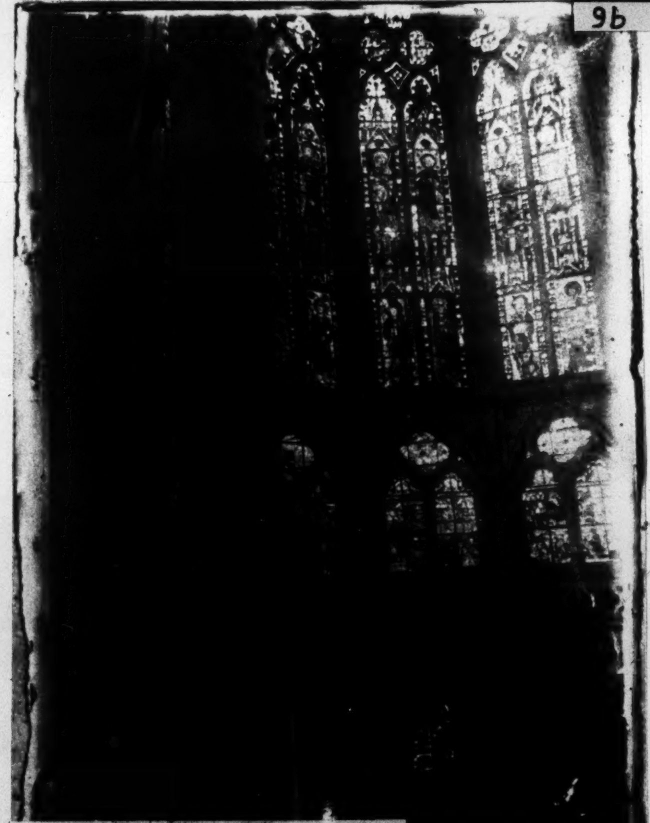


9a



9b

Photo: Allan Parsons



9c

Chartres, Saint-Père: apse

9c

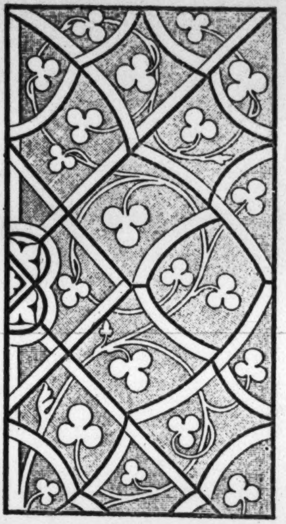
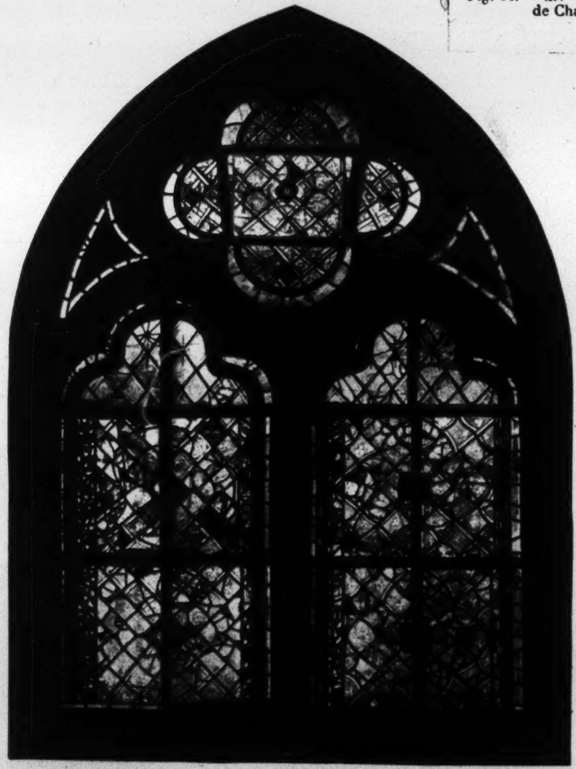


Fig. 34. — xiv^{e} siècle. Cathédrale Saint-Pierre de Chartres. (37 c. sur 69 c.)

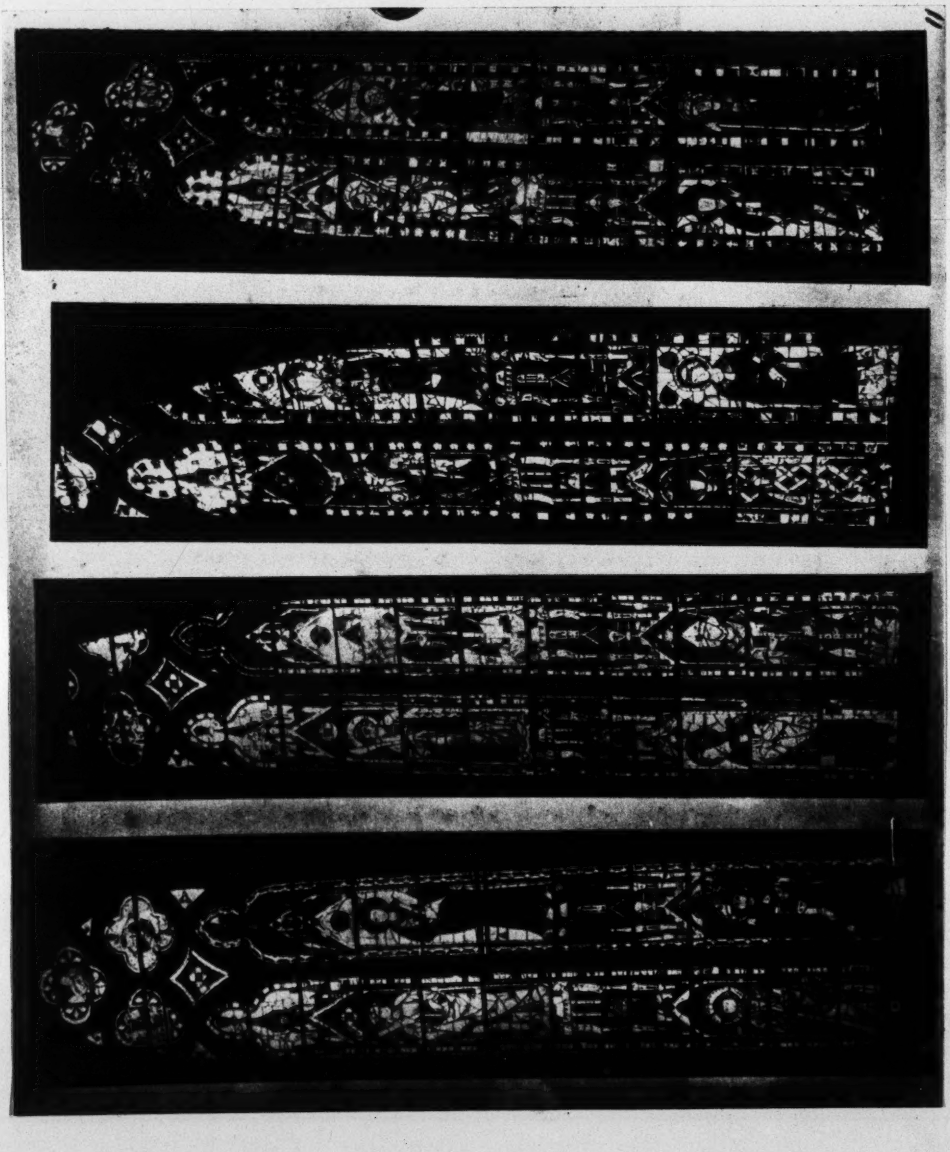
10b

From Ottin, p. 37



10a

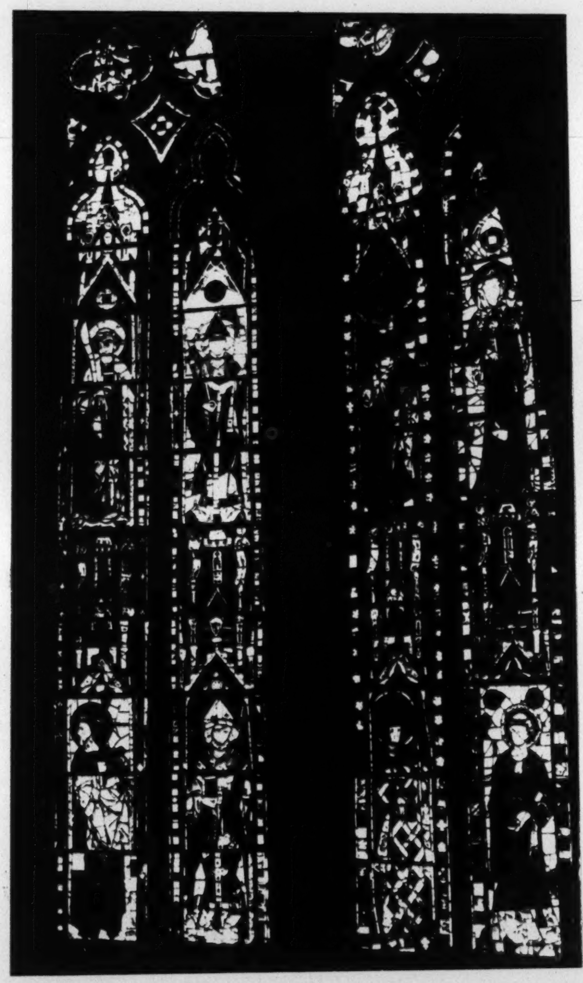
10
Chartres, Saint-Père: north apse triforium
Grisailles.
Photomontage. After restoration



11

Chartres, Saint-Père: apse, Bays 4,2,1,3
Photos from files of Lorin studio before Restoration c.1905

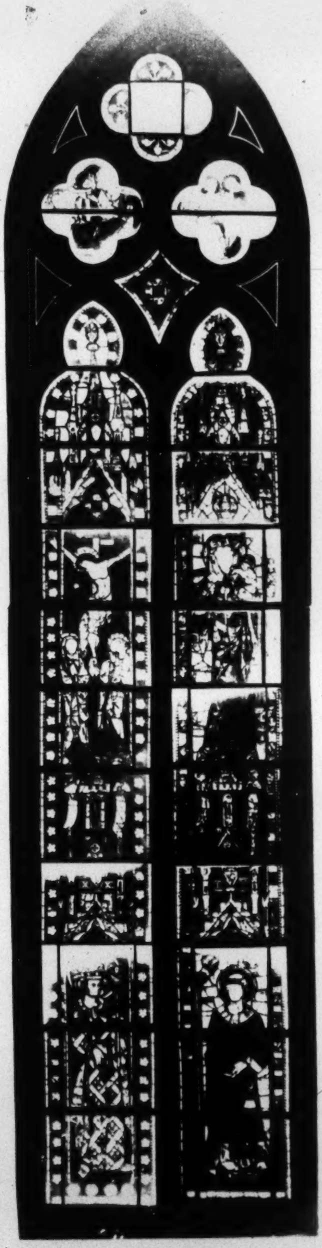
478



12

12
Chartres, Saint-Père: apse, Bays 1 and 2.
Photo taken before restoration
c. 1905

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE



13
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 1
Photomontage
After 1950's restoration

480

480

CHARTRES

EURE ET LOIR

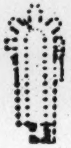
EGL. ST PIERRE

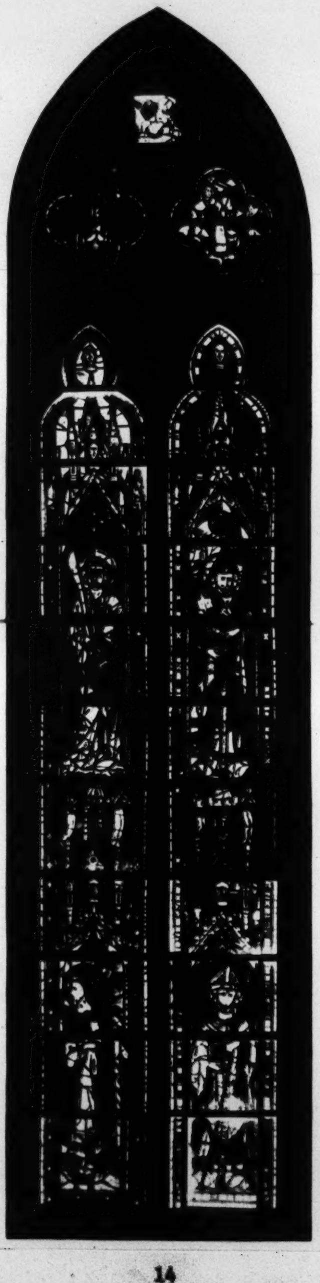
ECHELLE 1:10

BAIE 2 AP.R.

ABSIDE NORD

ST THADDEE . ST AMBROISE ? ST JACQUES LE MINEUR ST PIERRE ST PIERRE SUR LA CROIX. DECOLLATION DE ST PAUL





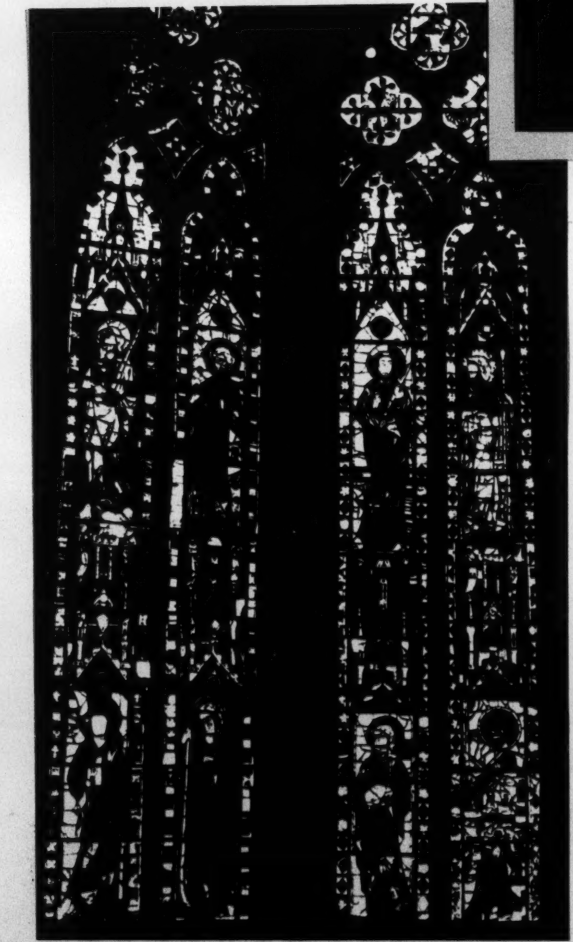
14

14

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 2
After 1950's restoration

15a
Chartres, Saint-Père:
Bays 3 and 5 (1965)

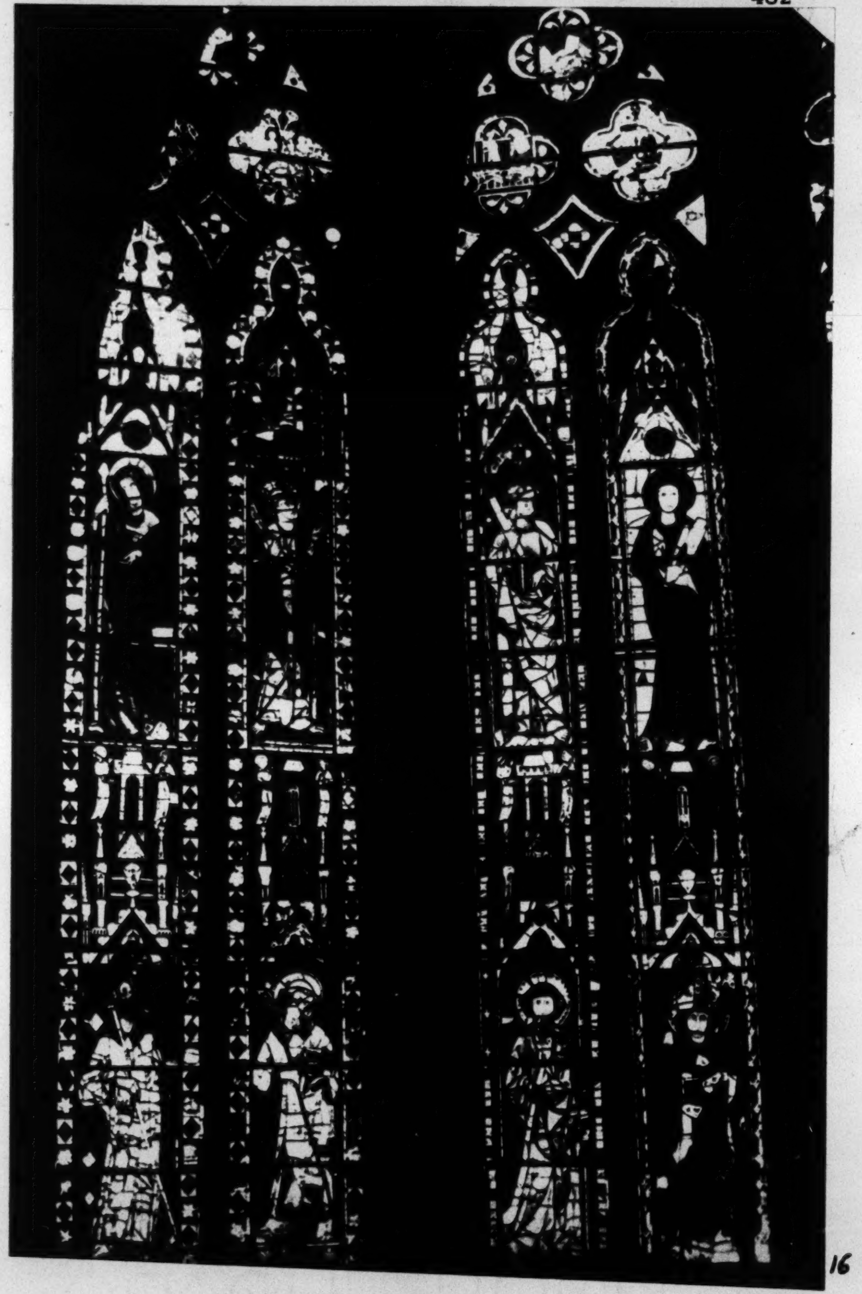
Photo: Allan Parsons



15b
Chartres, Saint-Père:
Bays 3 and 5. Photo
taken before restoration
c.1905

15b

482



16

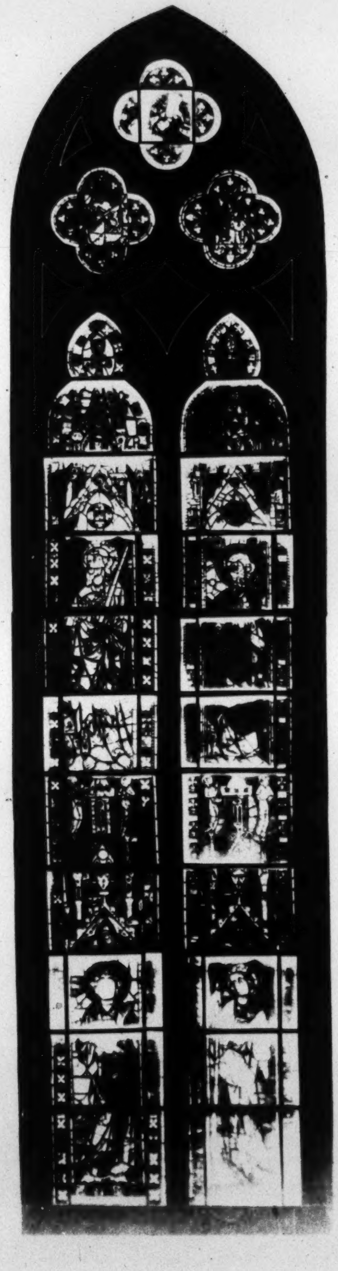
16
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bays 6 and 4.
Photo taken before restoration.
c. 1905

483

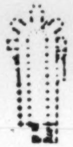
483

CHARTRES

EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE
ECHELLE 1 10



BAIE 3 APR
ABSIDE SUD
ST THOMAS ST BARNABE ST PAUL
ST ANDRE ST JEAN BAPTISTE DECA
PITE ST ETIENNE LAPIDE



17

17

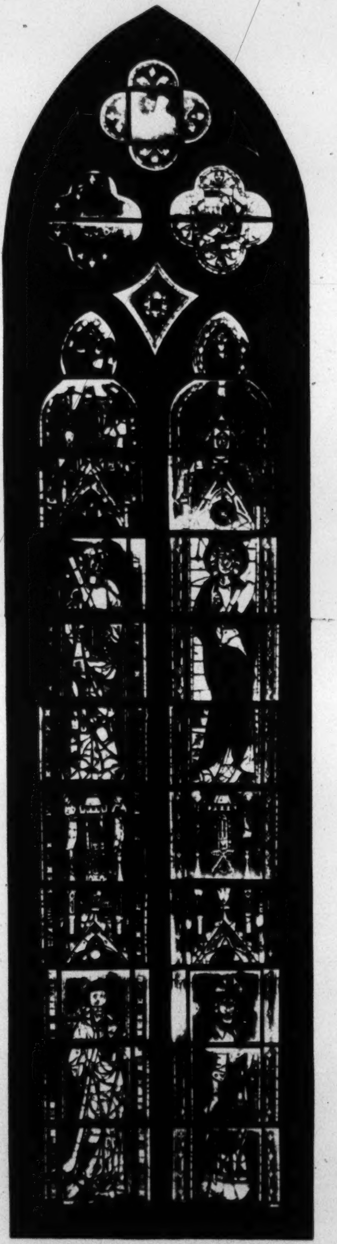
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 3
Photomontage
After 1930's restoration.

484

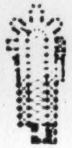
484

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE

ECHELLE 1:10



BAIE 4 APR
ABSIDE NORD
ST JACQUES LE MINEUR ST AUGUSTIN
ST SIMON ST JEAN ST LAURENT SUR SON
GRIL ST VINCENT JETE A LA MER



18

18
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 4
Photomontage
After 1950's restoration

485

485

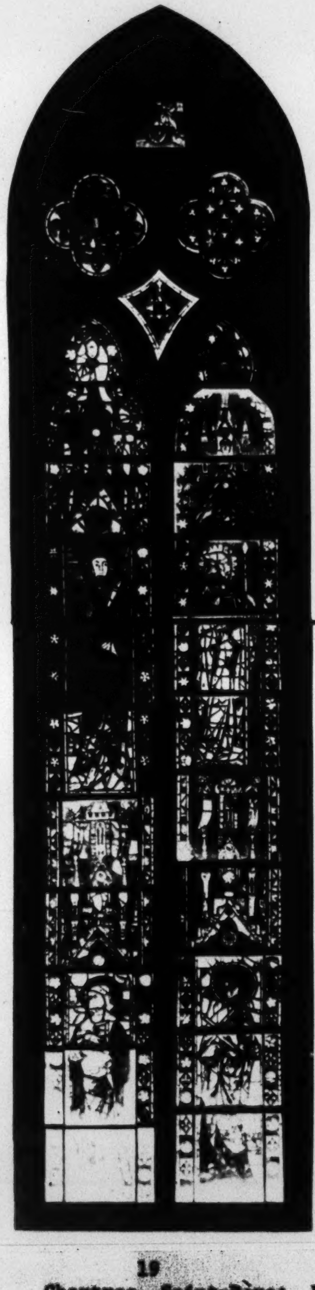
CHARTRES

EURE ET LOIR

EGL. ST PIERRE

ECHELLE 1:10

BAİE 5 AP. R
ABSIDE SUD
ST MATHIAS . ST MATHIEU ET
DEUX SAINTS
MARTYRE . DE ST ANDRE



19

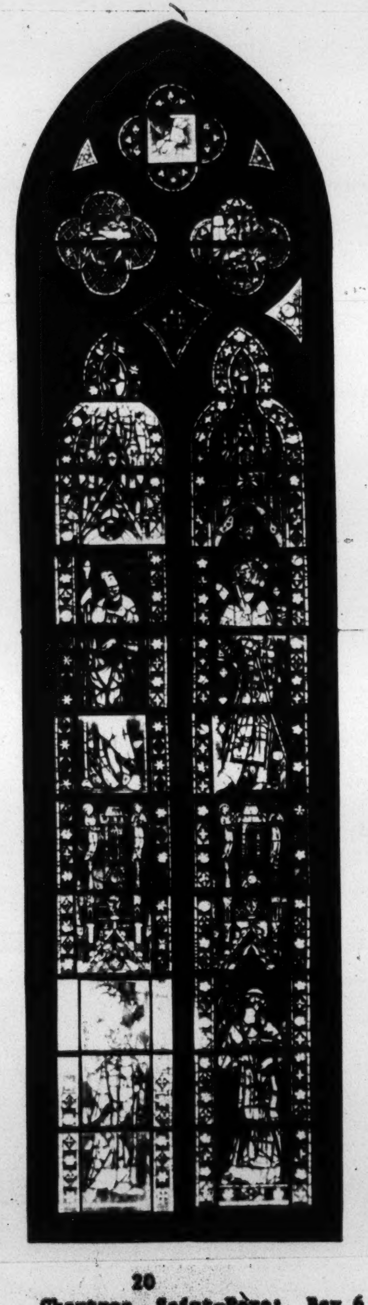
19
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 5
Photomontage
After 1950's restoration.

486

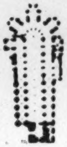
486

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE

ECHELLE 1:10



BAIE 6 AP.R
ABSIDE [illegible]
ST BARTHELEMY, ST BENOIT ? ST MAUR
ST PHILIPPE, ST APOLLINAIRE SUR LE
CHEVALET, ST EUSTACHE DANS LE
TAUREAU ARDENT



20

20
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 6
Photomontage
After 1950's restoration.

487

487

21
Chartres, Saint-Père: choir.

- (a) top left: south choir triforium (1933)
- (b) bottom left: Bay 16, grisaille of tracery lights.
- (c) middle right: Bay 15, tracery light.
- (d) bottom right: Bay 13, grisaille panel.

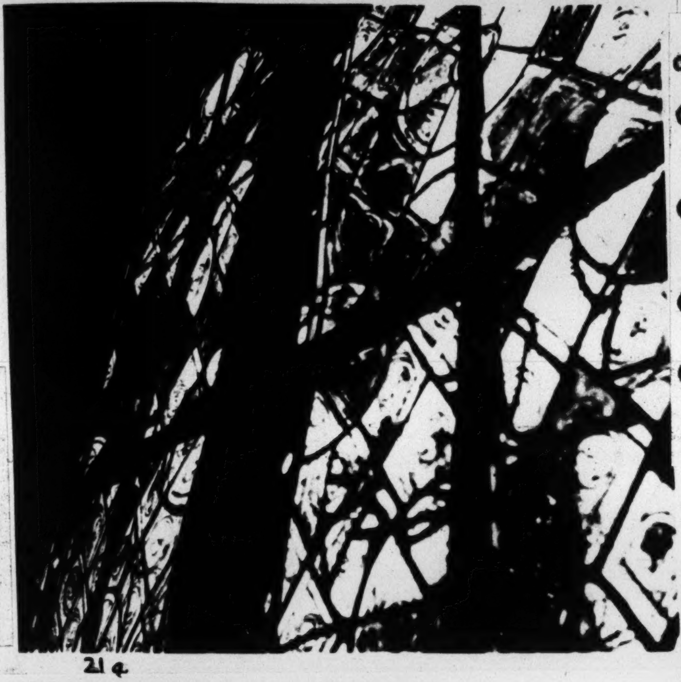
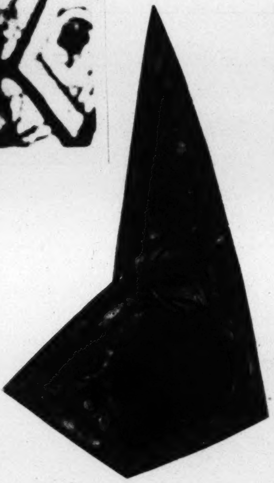
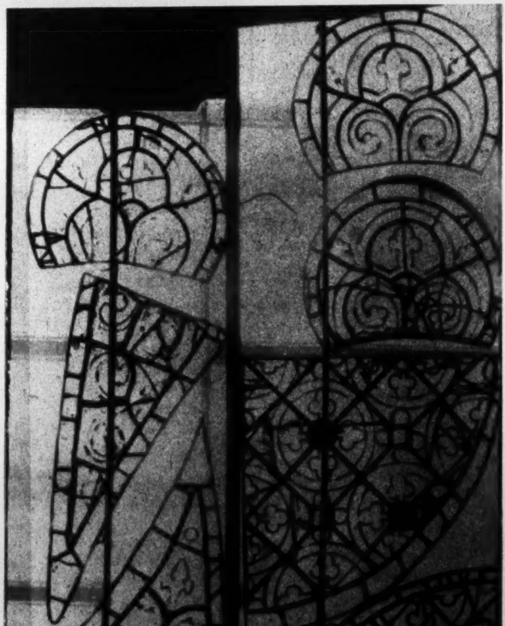


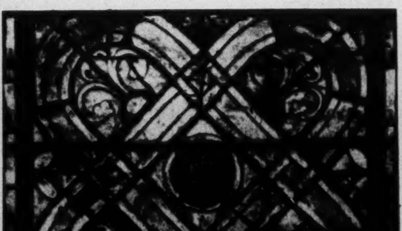
Photo: Jean Trouvelot

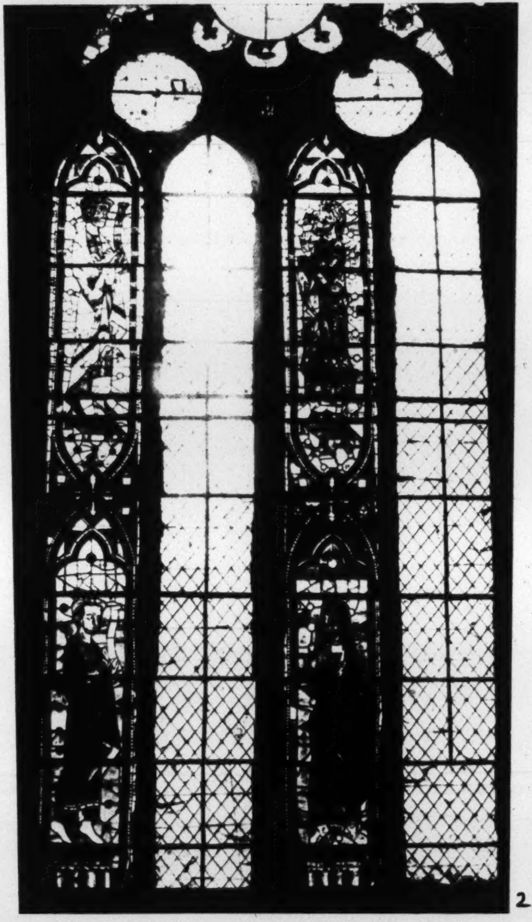
21a





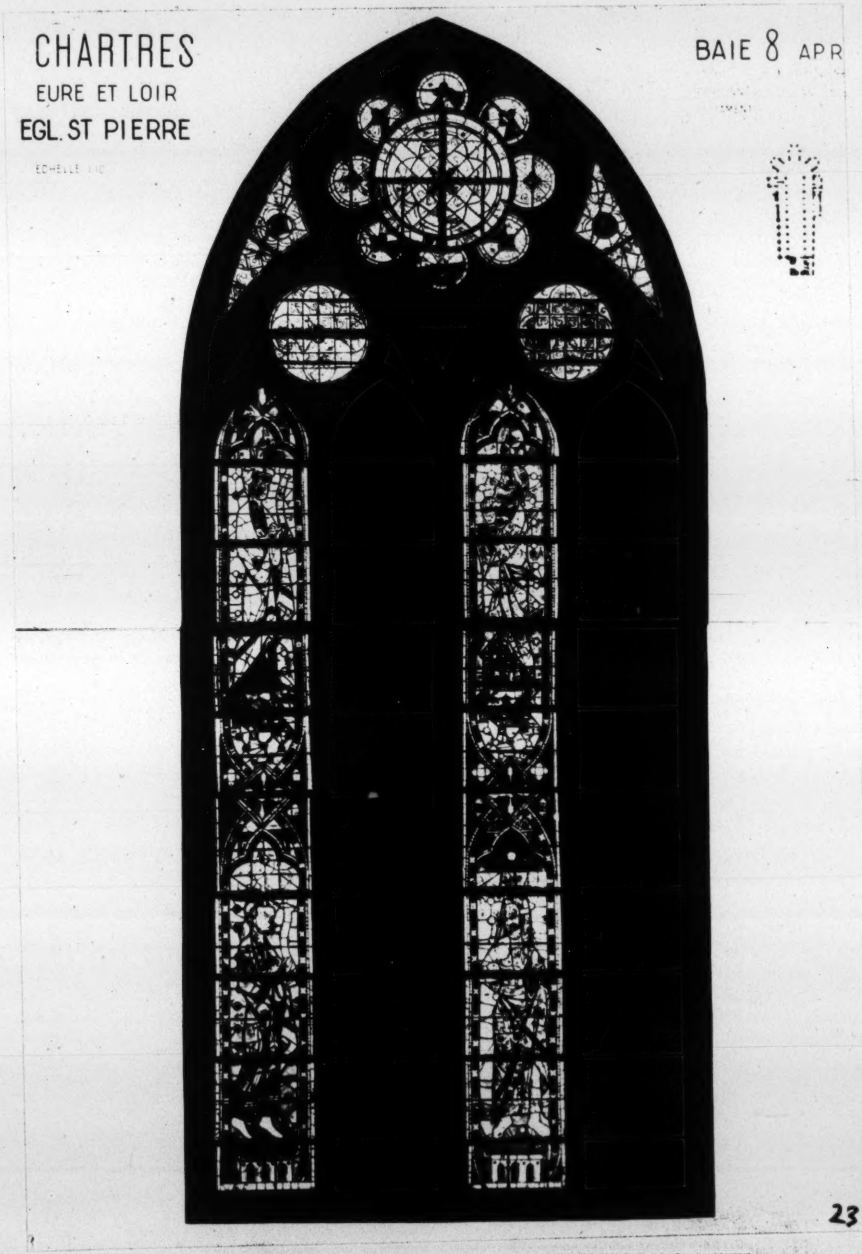
21b





22

22
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 8
Photo from files of Lorin studio,
taken before 1905 restoration.


CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE
ECHELLE
BAIE 8 APR

23

23
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 8. Photomontage.
After 1950's restoration.

24 a
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 9 (1965)

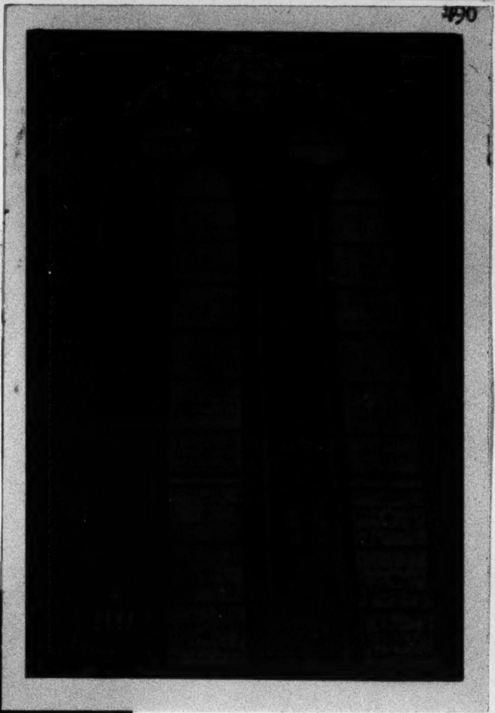
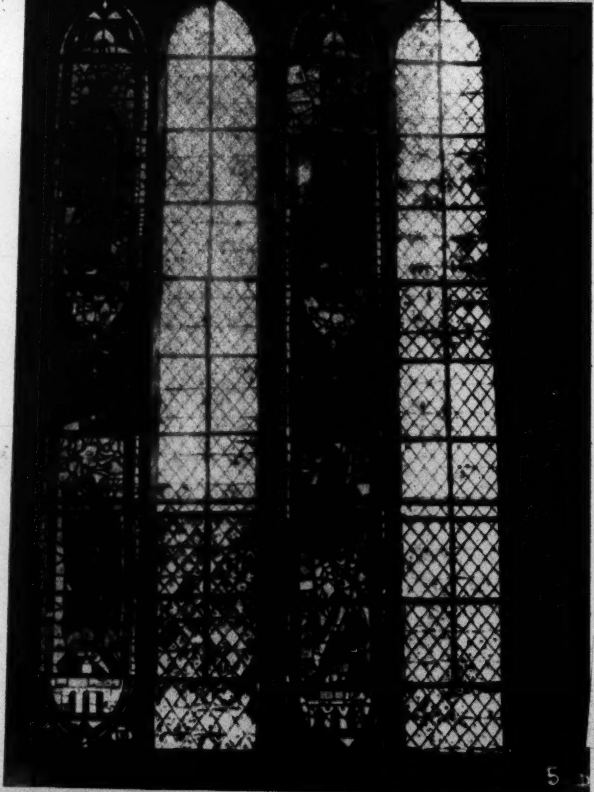


Photo: Allan Parsons

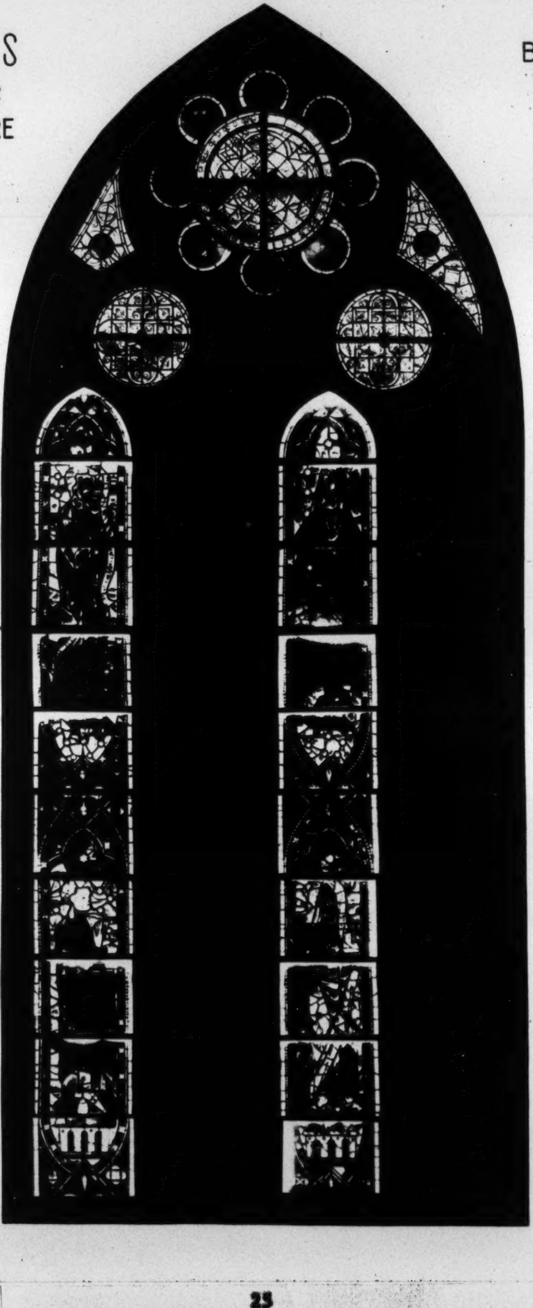


24b
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 9
Photo from Lorin studio,
taken before 1905 restoration.

24b

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE

BAIE 9 APR



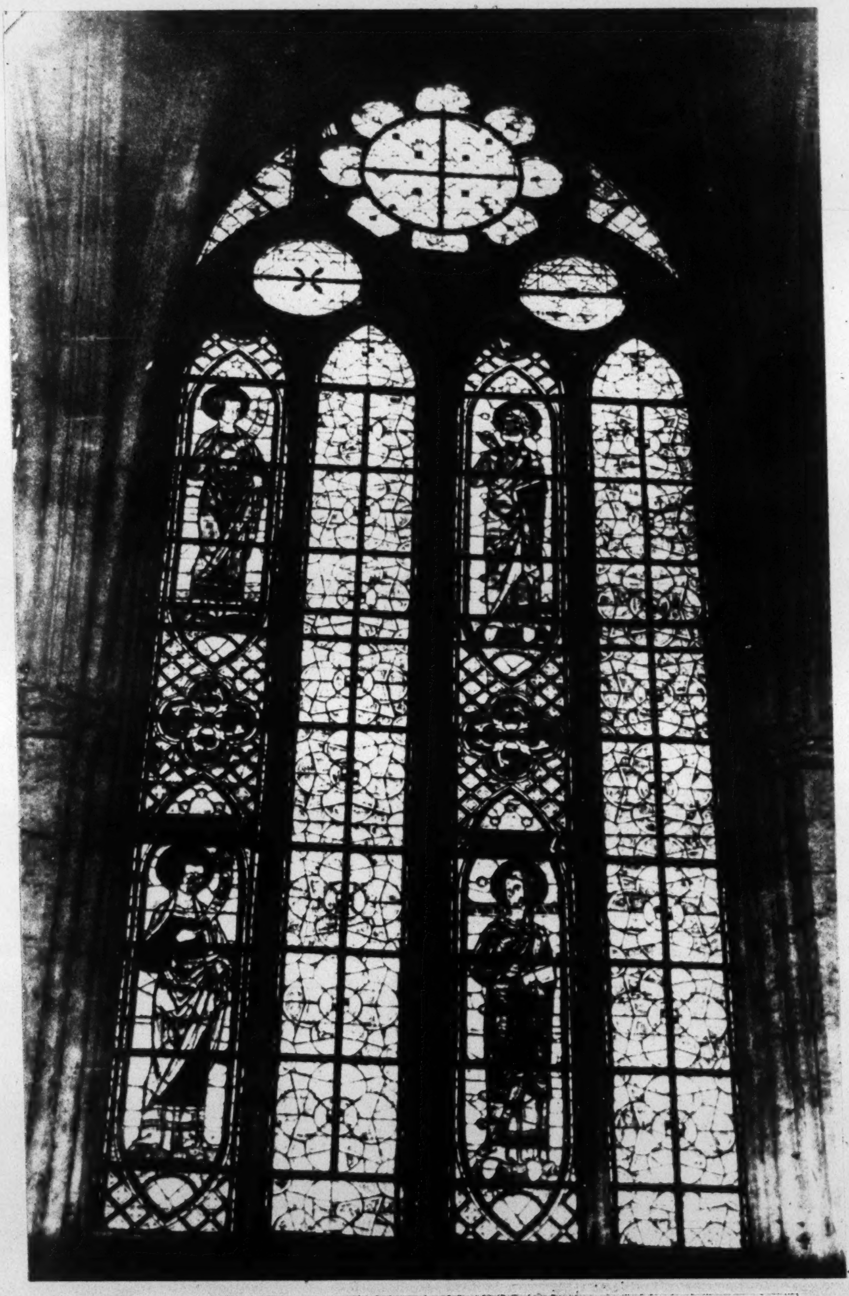
25

25

25

**Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 9. Photomontage.
After 1930's restoration.**

492



26

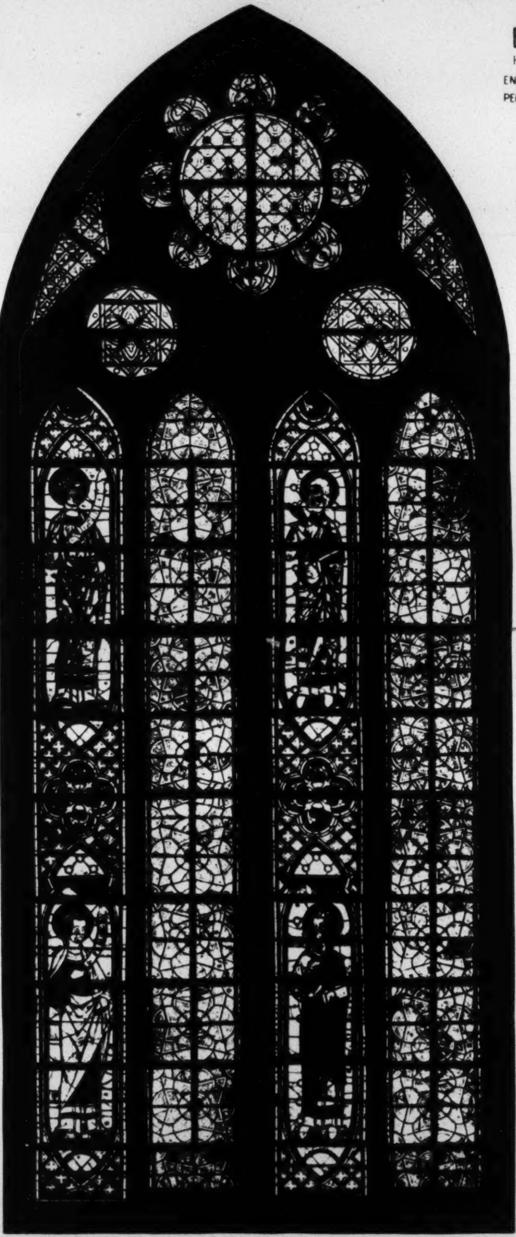
26
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 10. Photo made
before 1922.

493

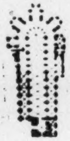
493

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE

ECHELLE 1 10



BAIE 10 AP R.
HAUT CHOEUR NORD
ENOCH ? ABBACUC, DANIEL ET UN
PERSONNAGE DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT



27

27
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 10. Photomontage.
After 1950's restoration.

494

28a

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 11 (1965)

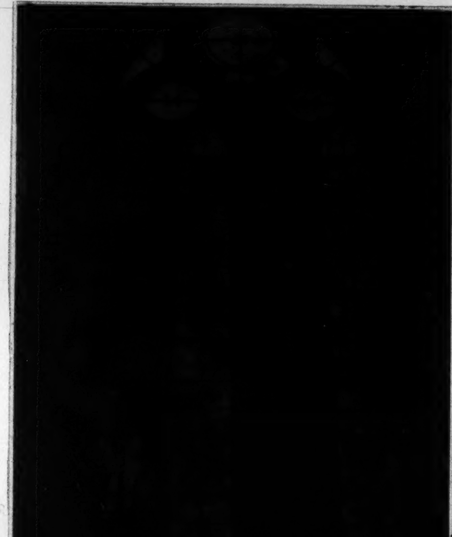
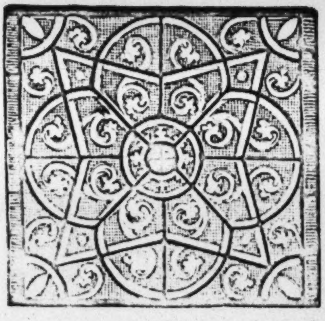


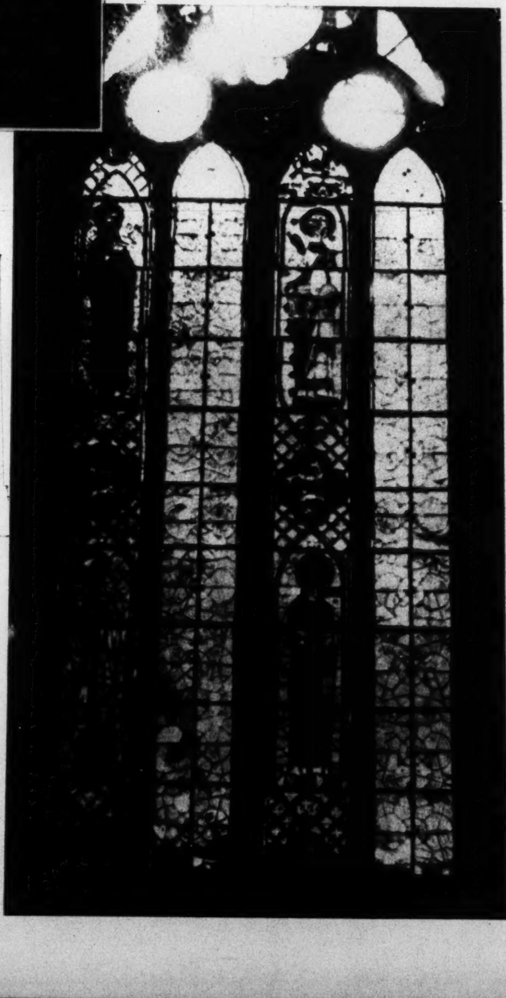
Photo: Allan Parsons



136. S. Pierre, Chartres.

28 b

From Lewis Day (1909 ed.)



28c

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 11.
Photo from Lorin studios,
taken before 1905 restoration

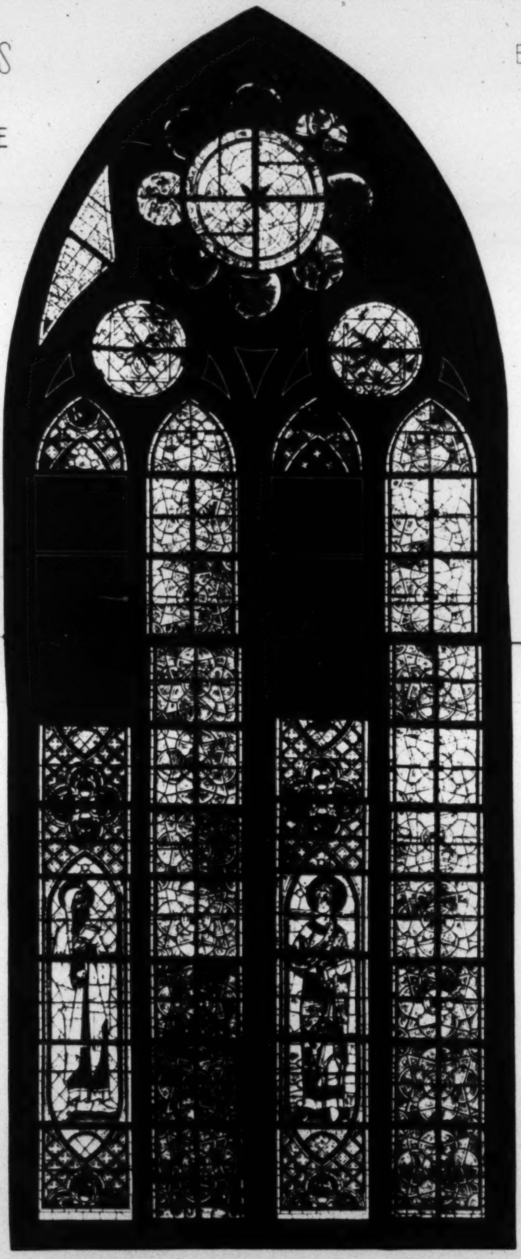
28c

495

495

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE

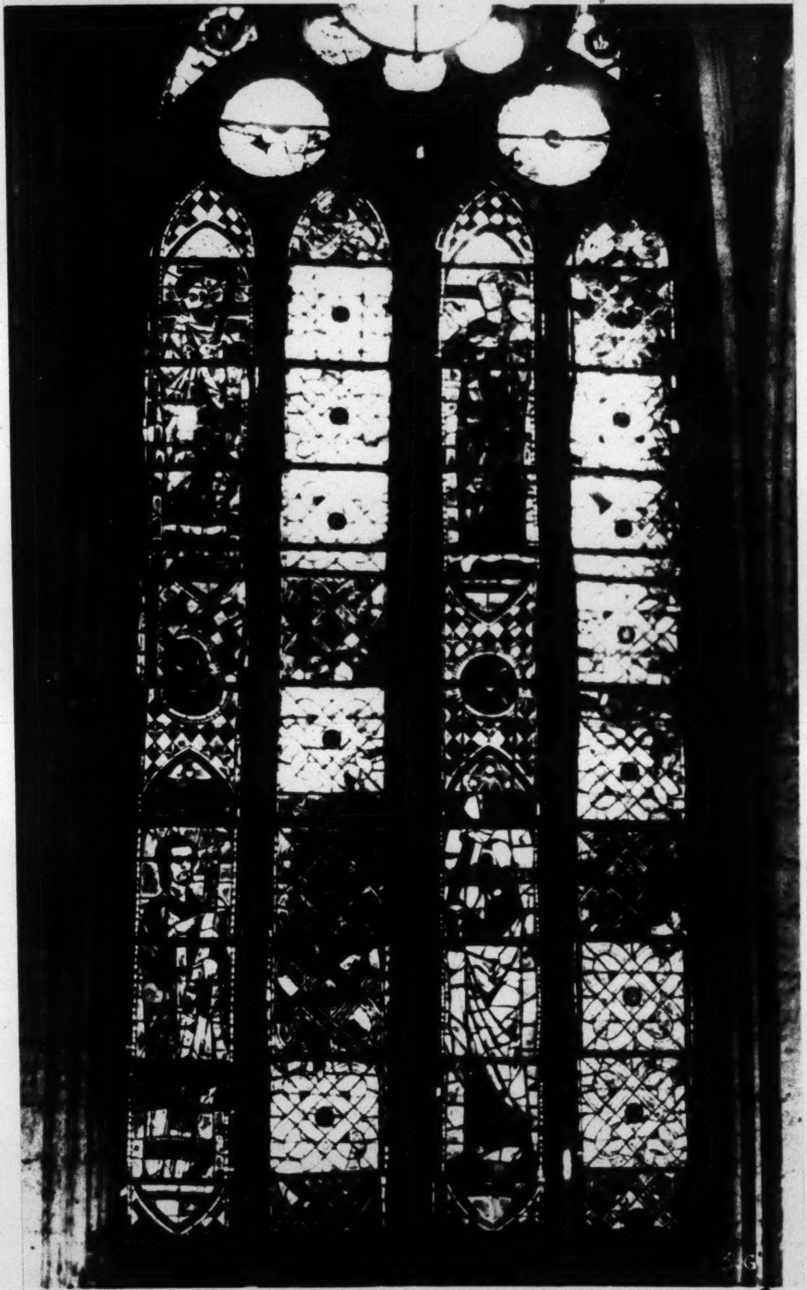
BAIE 11



29

29
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 11
Photomontage. Photos of upper
two figures missing.
After 1950's restoration.

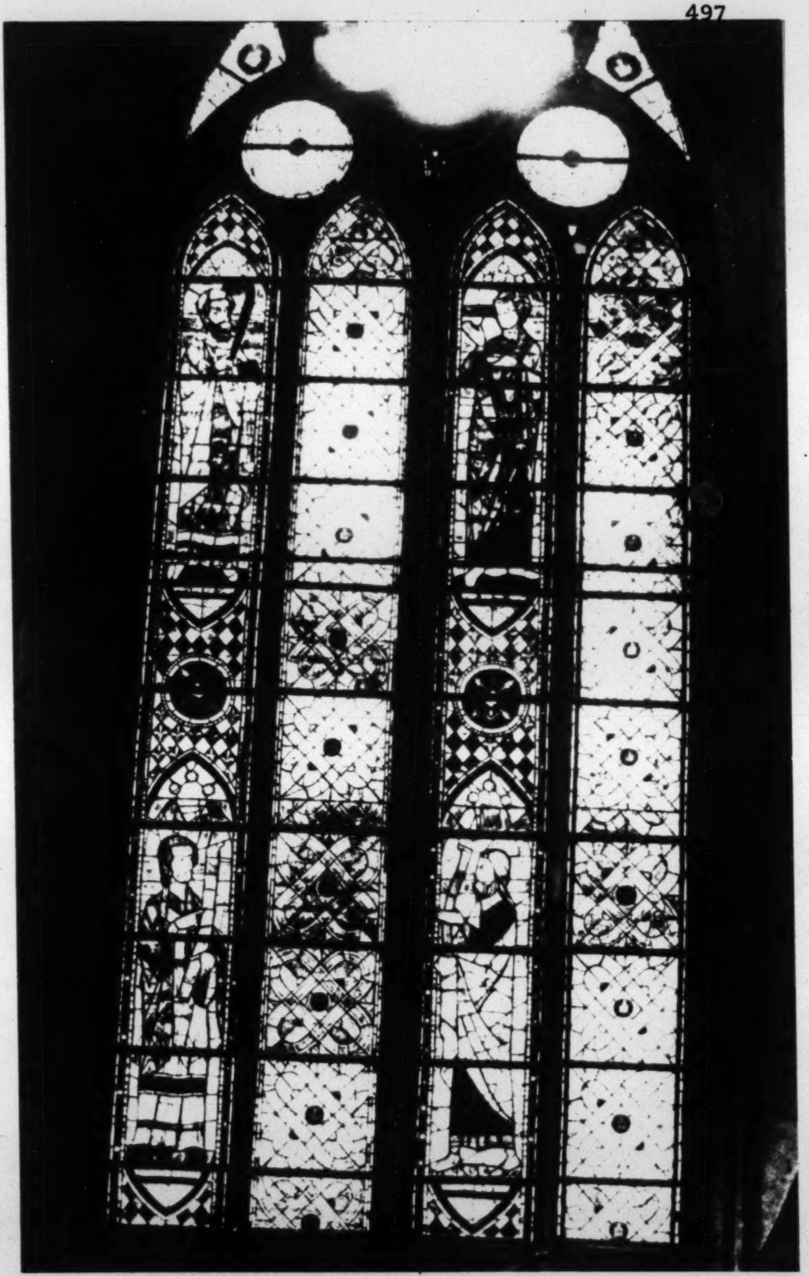
496



30

30

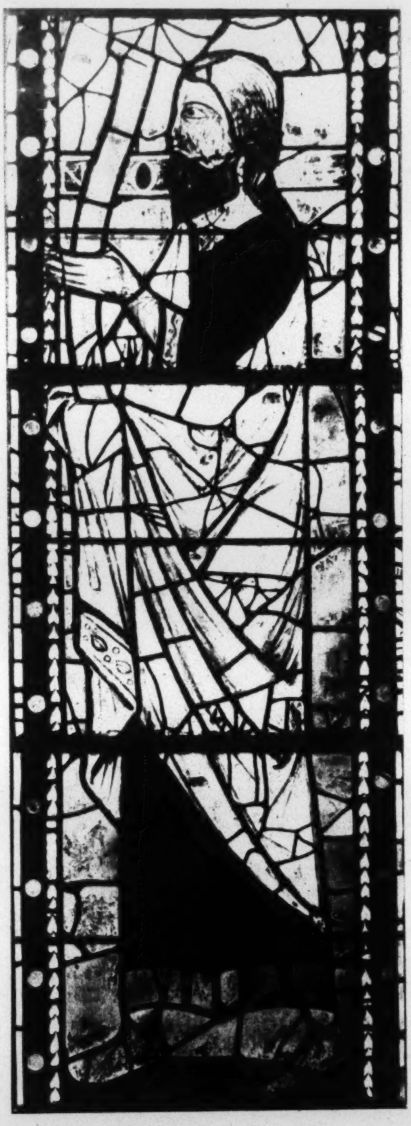
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 12. Photo taken before 1905 restoration



31

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 12. Photo taken after 1905 restoration.

31



32

32
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 12, figure of prophet (Noah?)

499

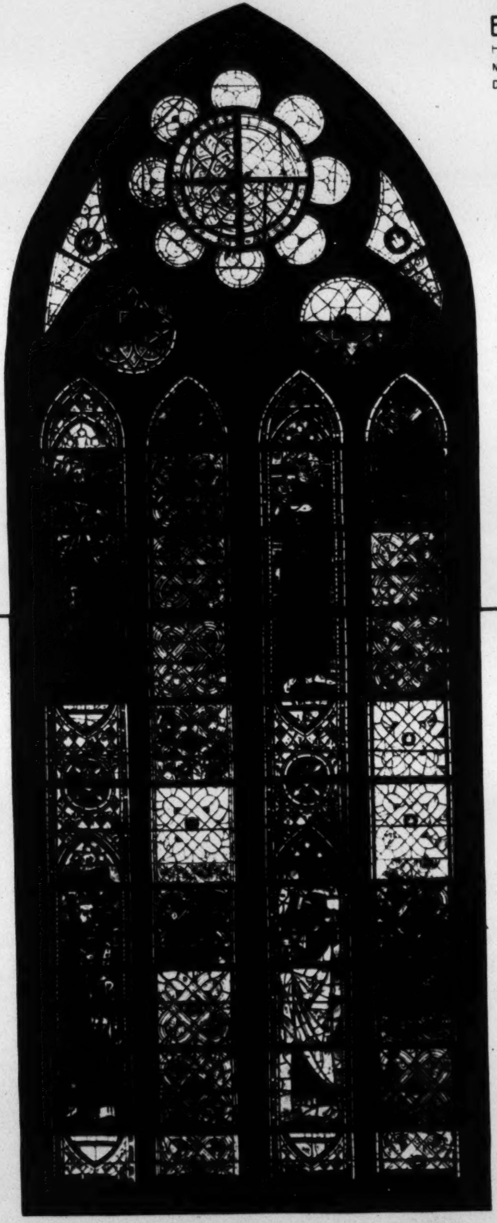
499

CHARTRES

EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE

ECHELLE 1:10

BAIE 12 AP.R.
HAUT CHŒUR NORD
NOE ET TROIS PERSONNAGES
DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT



22

33

33
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 12. Photomontage.
After 1950's restoration.

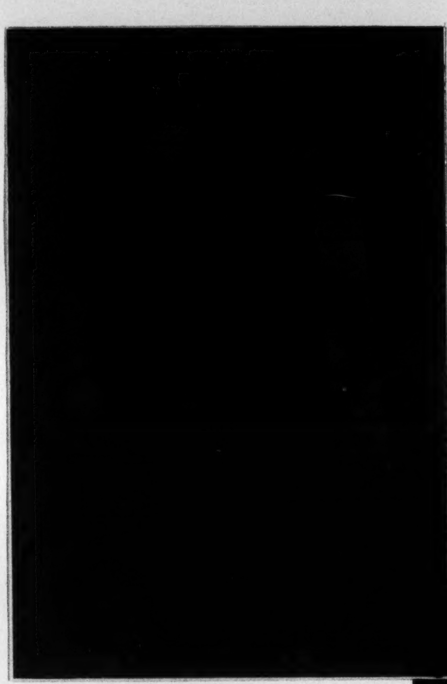


Photo: Allan Parsons

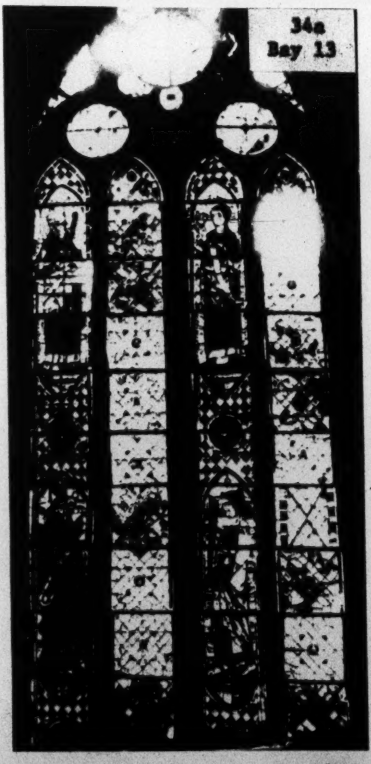
34

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 13.

(a) lower left: Photo from Lorin studio. Taken before c.1905 restoration..

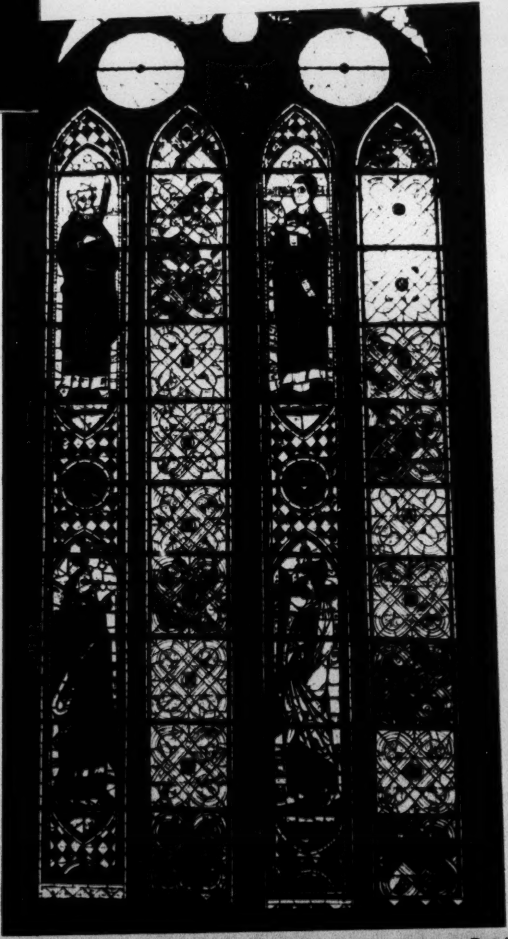
(b) lower right: Photo taken after c.1905 restoration.

(c) upper left: Window in 1965 Colored lancets by François Lorin, 1950's to replace glass lost in W.W.II.



34a
Bay 13

34a



34b

35b

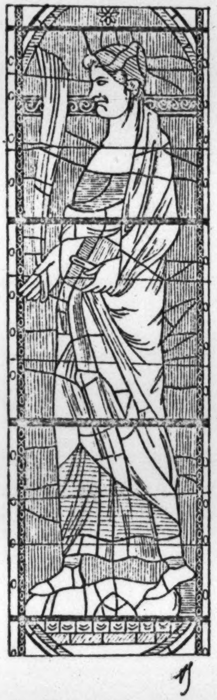
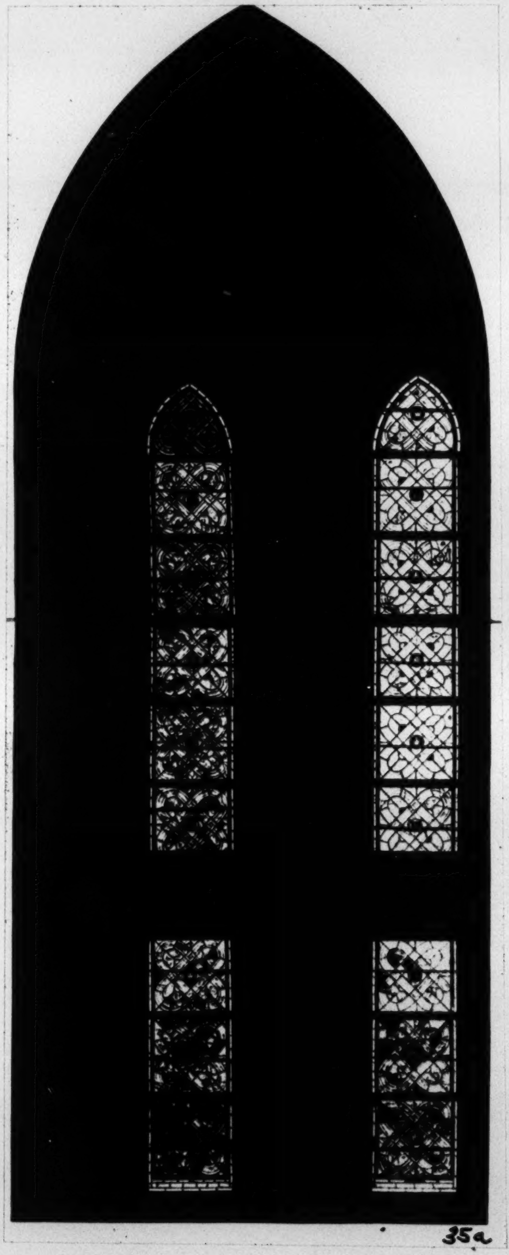


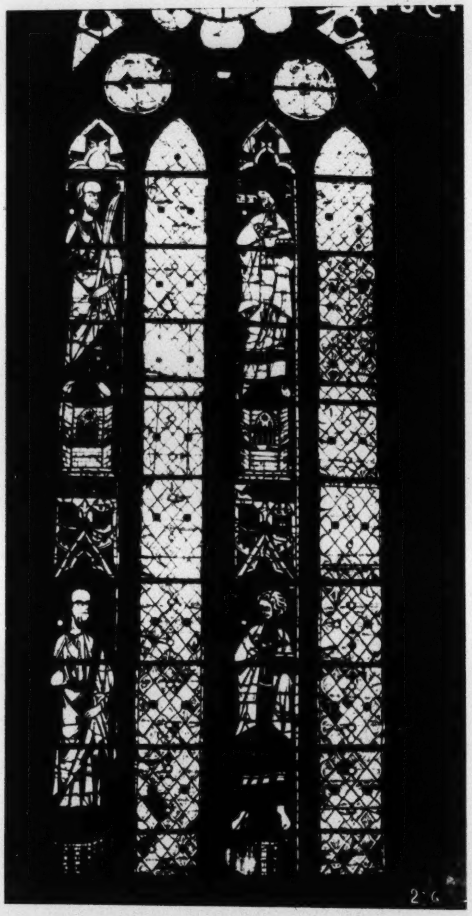
Fig. 38. — SAINT MATHIAS.
(Saint-Pierre de Chartres.)

From Merson, p. 75



35a

35
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 13. Photomontage.
Missing glass destroyed in W.W. II.



36

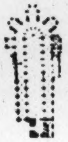
36
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 14. Probably
taken after c.1905 restorations.

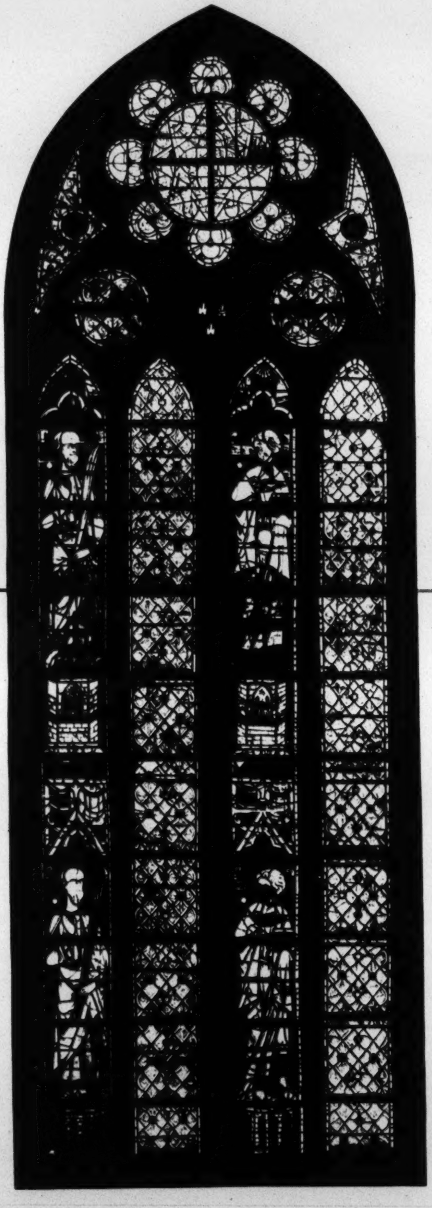
503

503

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE
ECHELLE 1:10

BAIE 14 AP.R.
HAUT CHOEUR NORD
PERSONNAGES DE L'ANCIEN
TESTAMENT



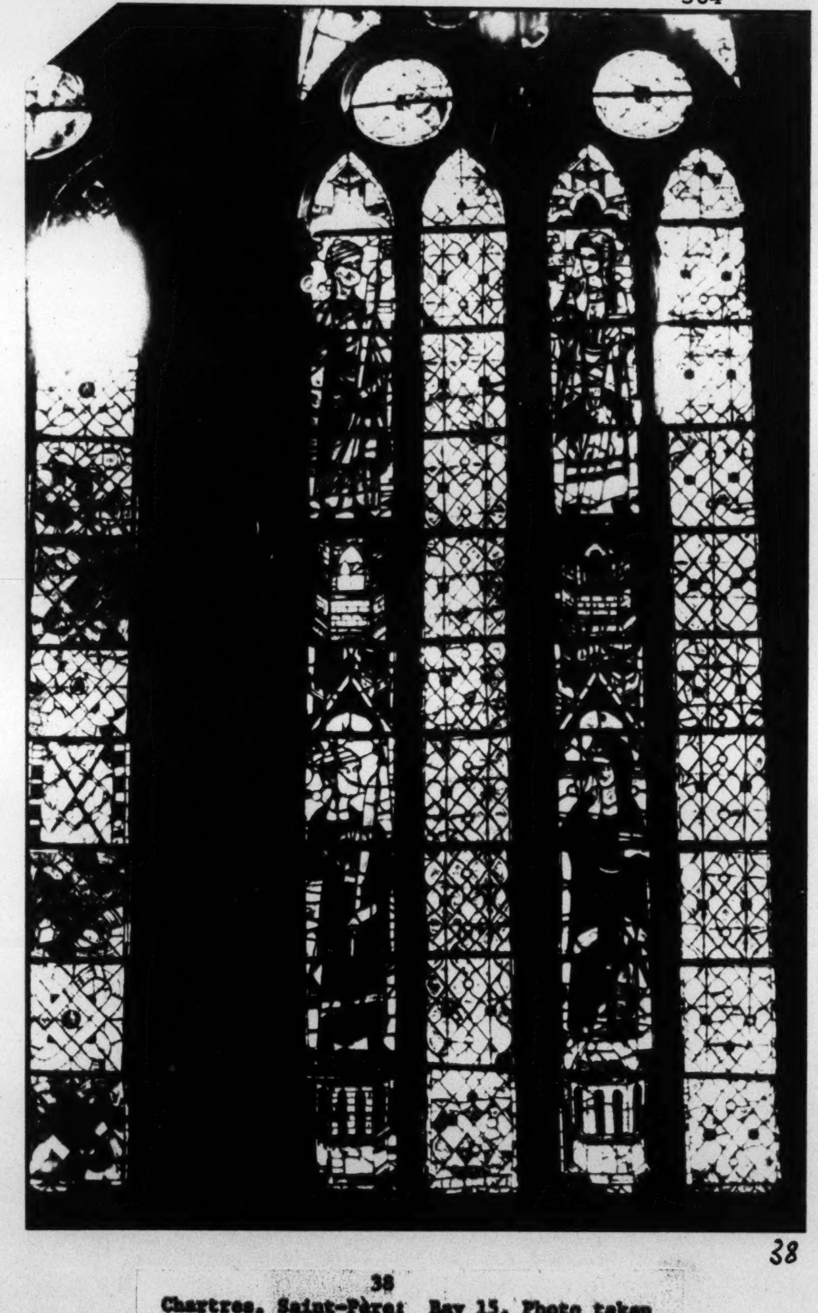


37

37

37
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 14. Photomontage.
After 1930's restorations.

504



38

38

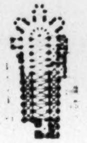
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 15. Photo taken before c.1905 restoration.

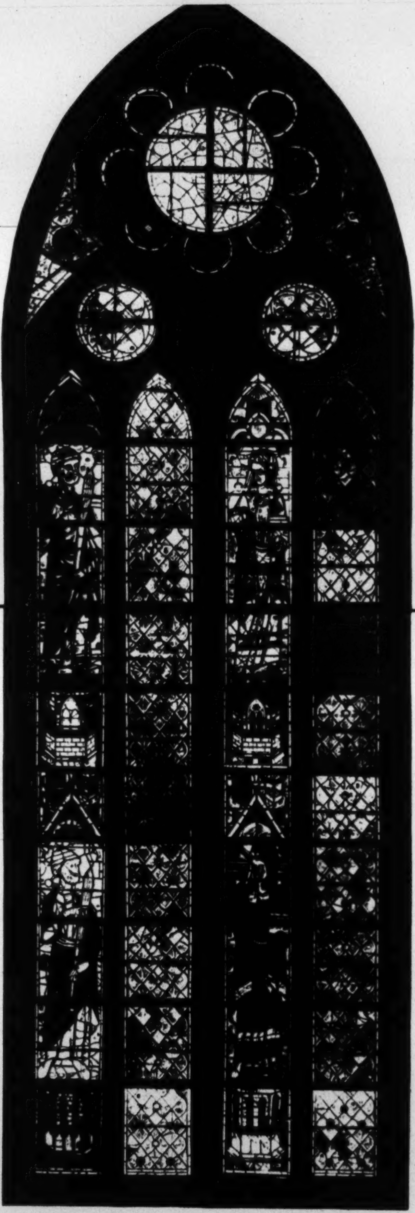
505.

505

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE
ECHELLE 1:10

BAIE 15 APR
HAUT CHOEUR SUD
PERSONNAGES DE L'ANCIEN
TESTAMENT

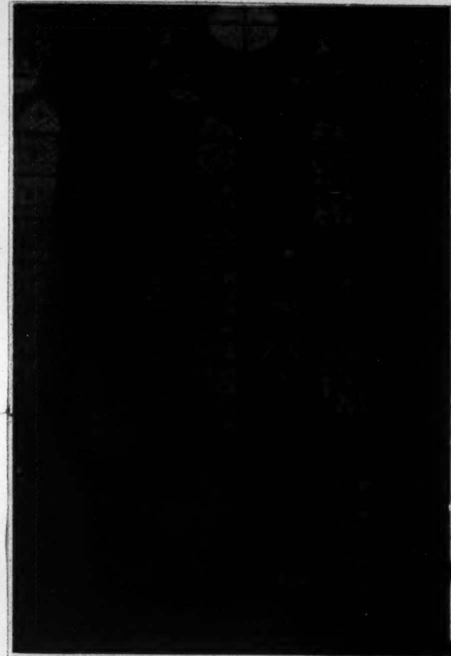




39

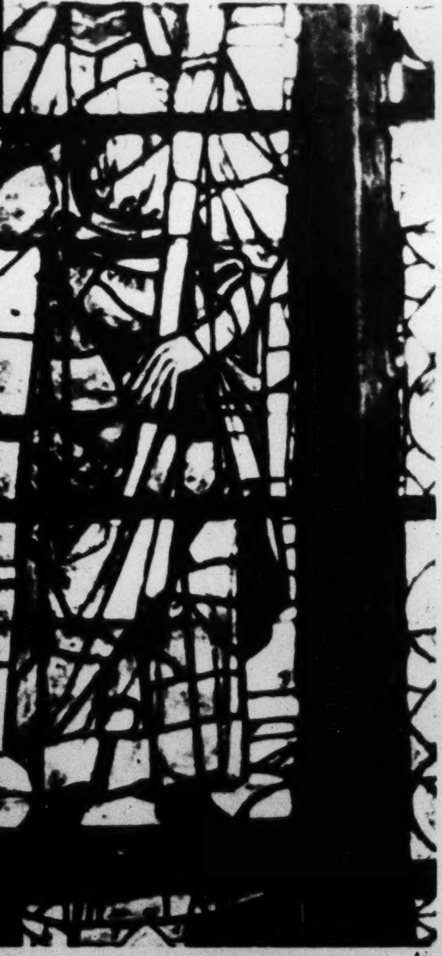
39
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 15. Photomontage.
After 1950's restorations.

506



40a
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 15. (1965)

Photo: Allan Parsons

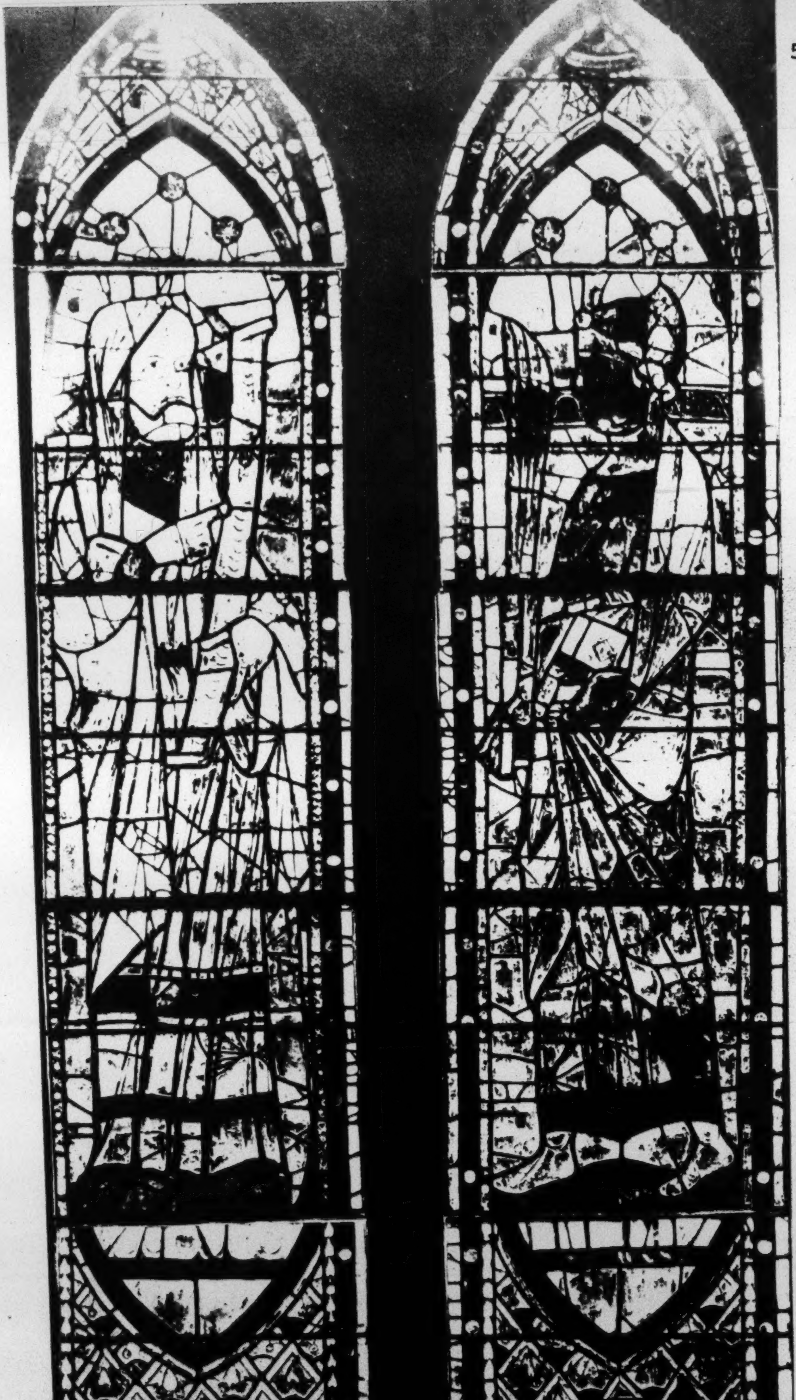


40b
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 15, upper left figure.

40b

507

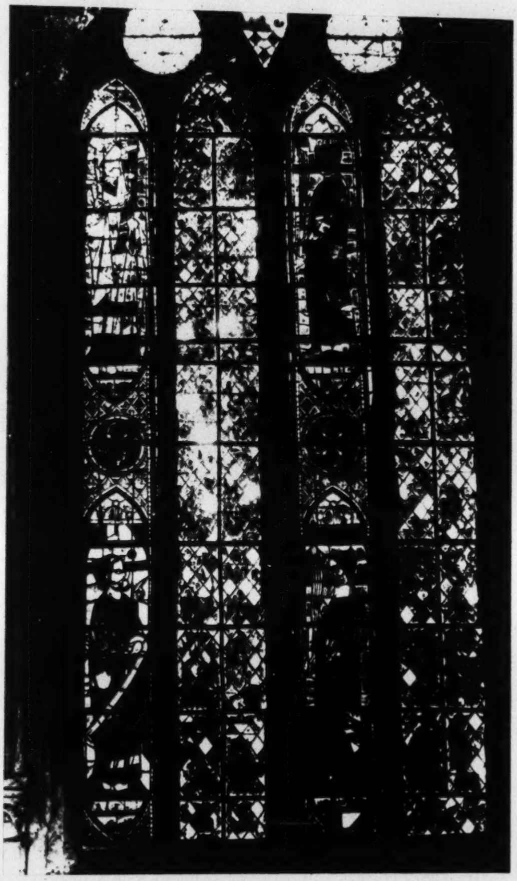
507



41

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 16, upper two figures.

41



42

42
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 16. Photo probably taken after c. 1905 restorations.

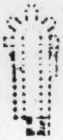
509

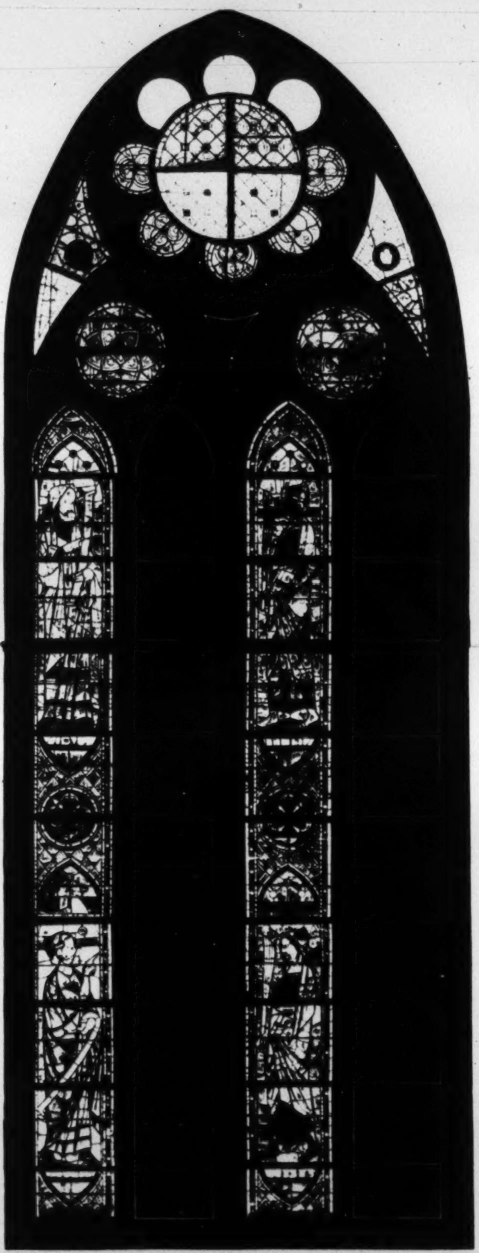
509

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE

ECHELLE 1:10

BAIE 16 APR
[illegible]
PERSONNAGES [illegible] ANCIEN
TESTAMENT

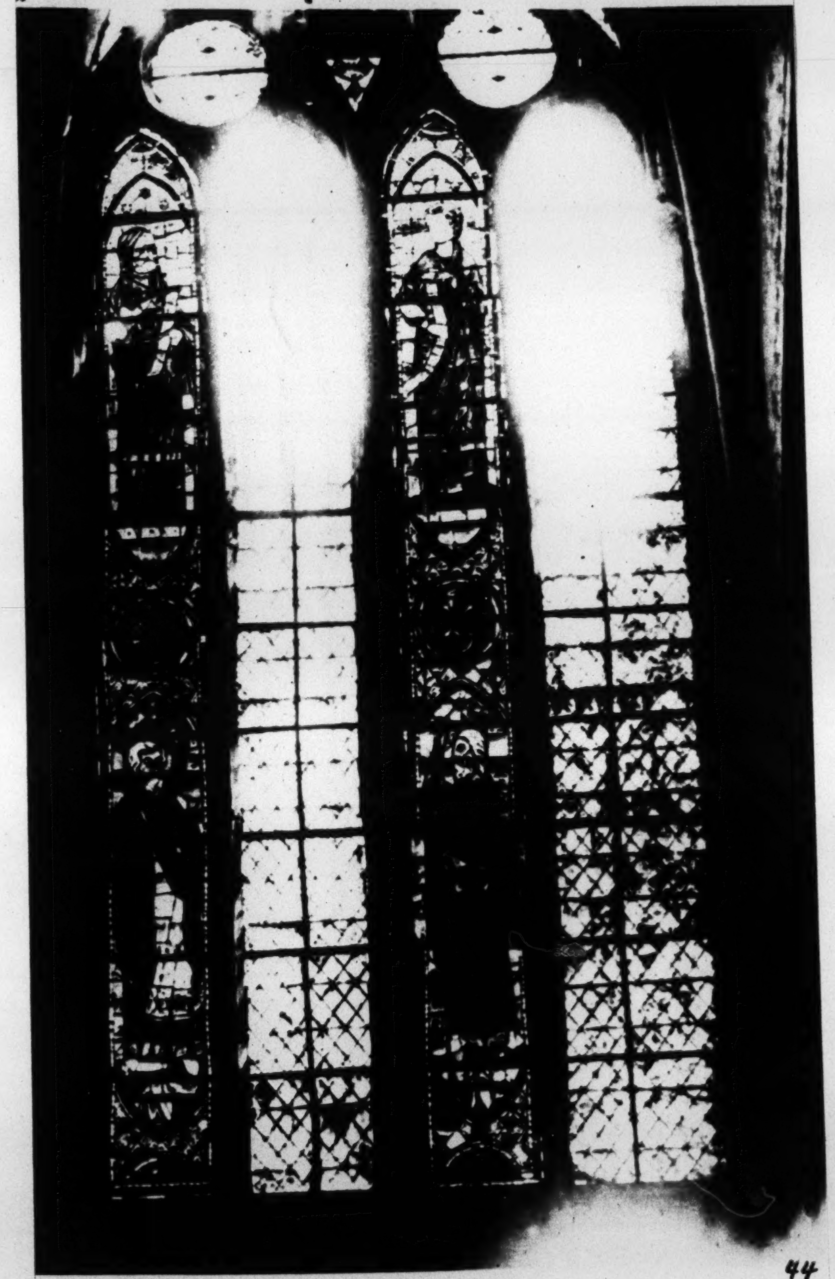




43

43
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 16. Photomontage.
After 1930's restorations.

510



44

44

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 17. Photo taken before c.1905 restorations.

5 11

511

CHARTRES

EURE ET LOIR

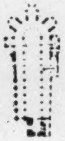
EGL. ST PIERRE

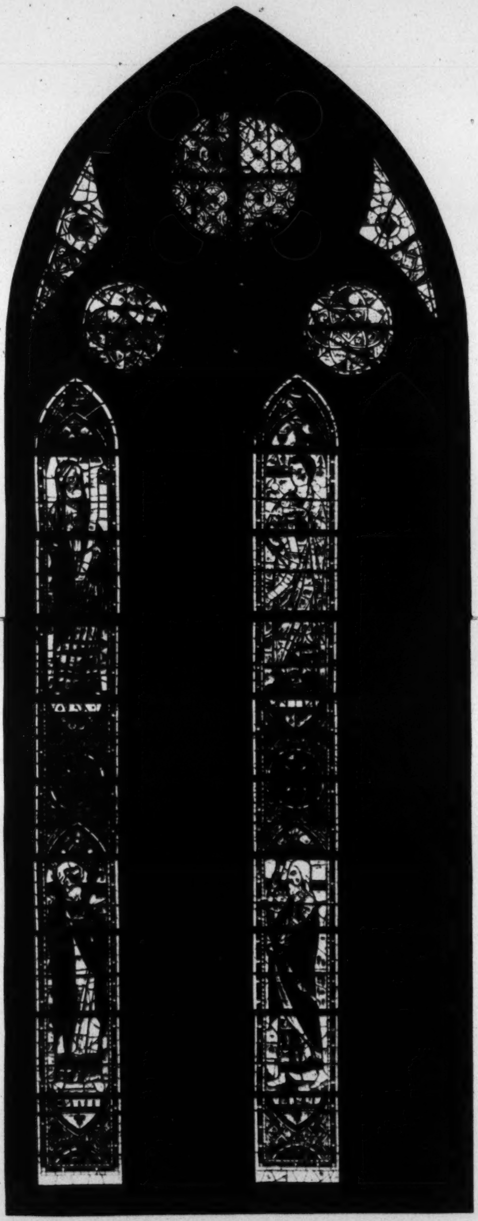
ECHELLE 1:C

BAIE 17 APR

[illegible]

PERSONNAGES DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT





45

45

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 17. Photomontage.
After 1950's restorations.

Photo: Allan Parsons

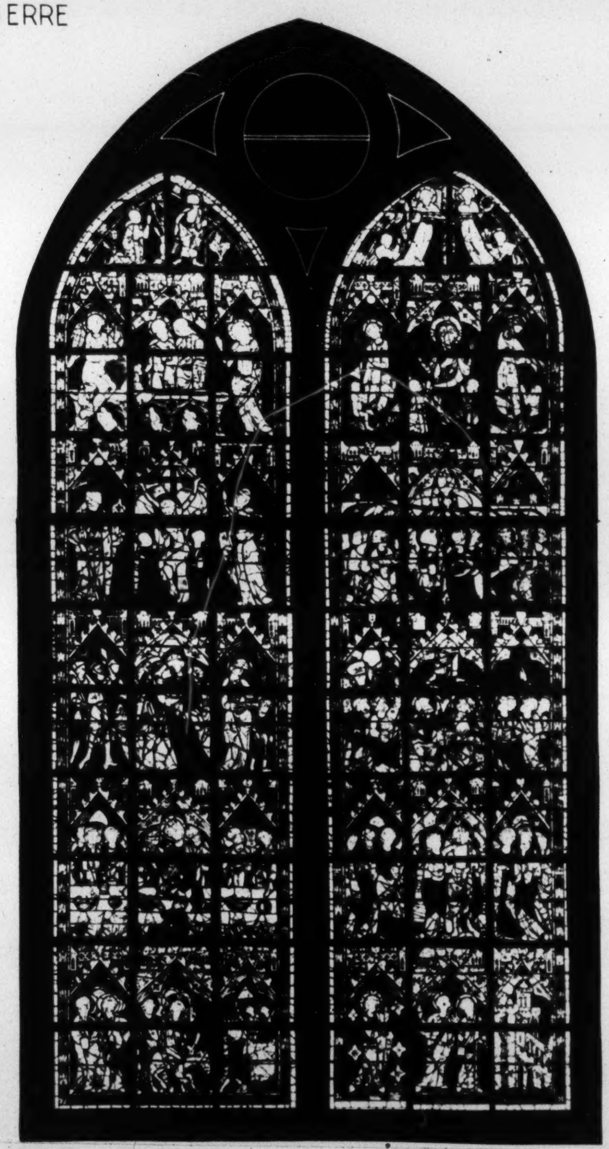
46
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 17 (1963)

5-13

513

BAIE 18

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE



47

47

Chartres, Saint-Père: Nave, Bay 18. Photomontage.
After 1950's restorations.

48a
Chartres, Saint-Père:
Bay 18, details,
right lancet, lower
right panels.

48b
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 18 (1965)

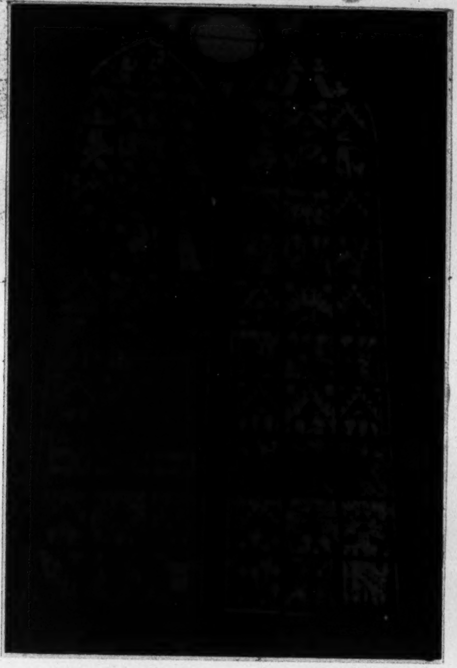
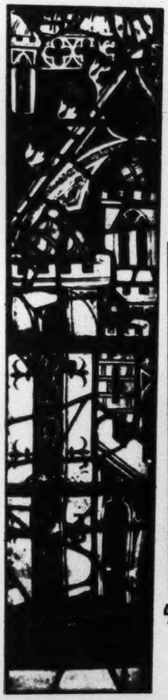


Photo: Allan Parsons

Robes: modelling and trim.

48a
Canopywork.



48a

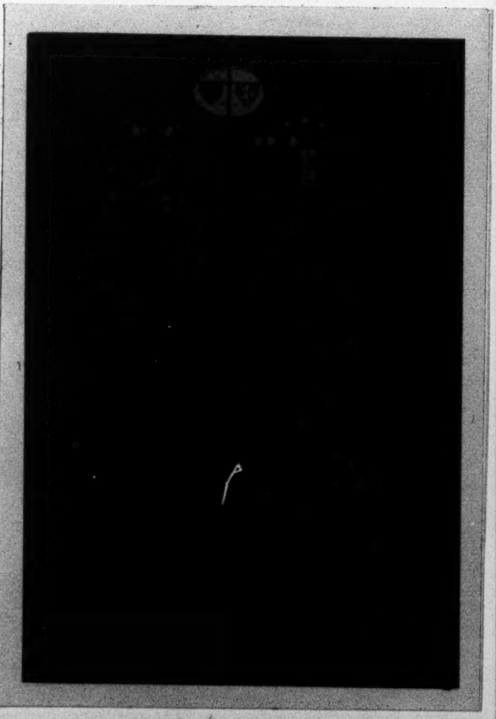


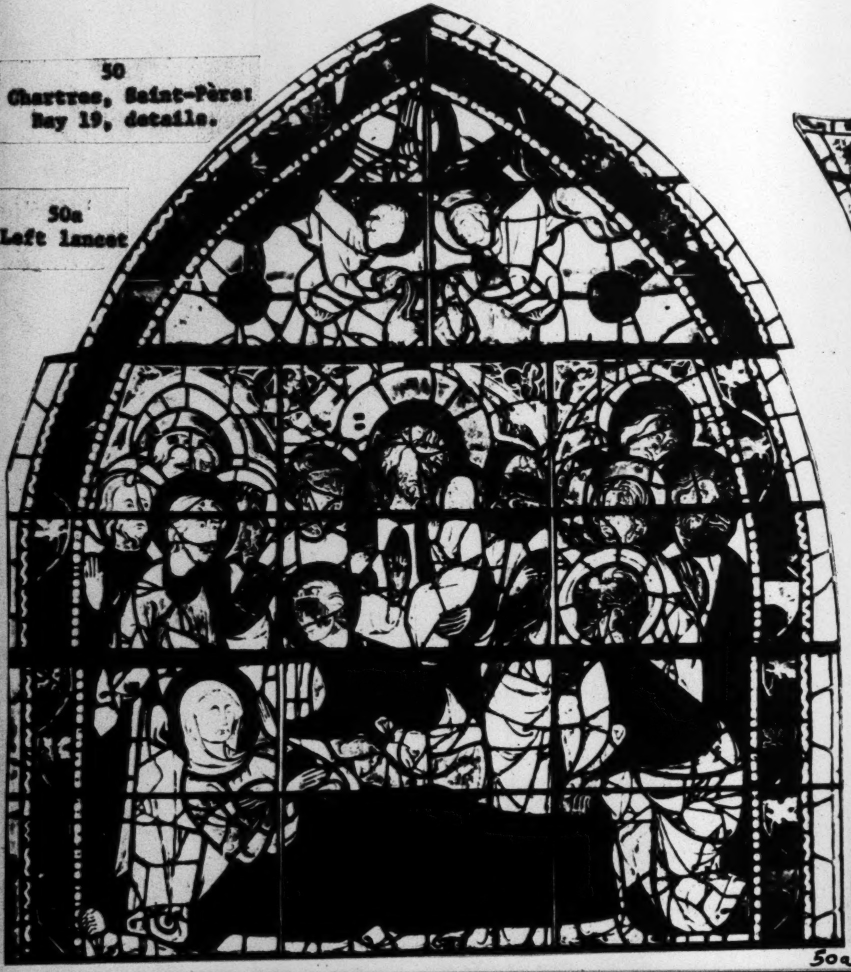
Photo: Allan Parsons

49
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 19 (1965)

515

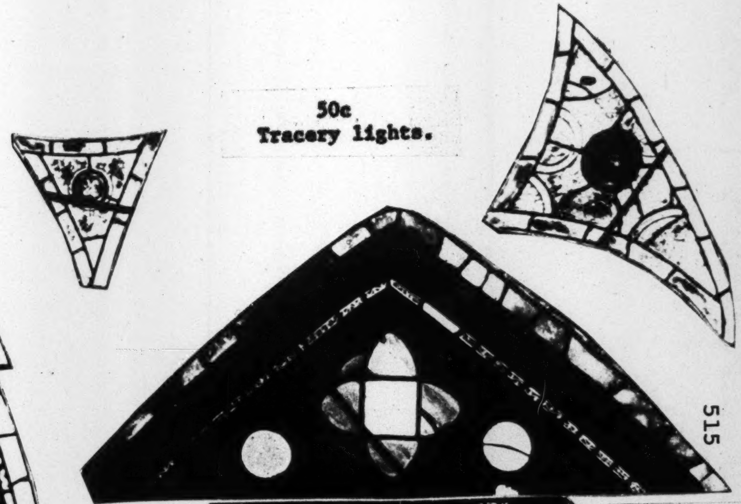
50
Chartres, Saint-Père:
Bay 19, details.

50a
Left lancet



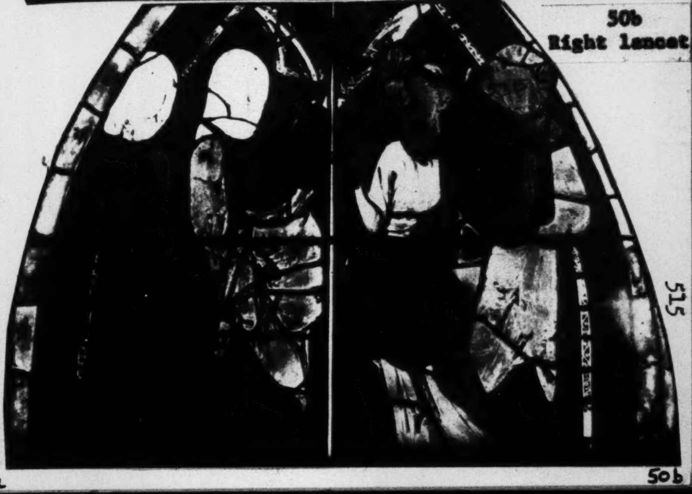
50a

50c
Tracery lights.



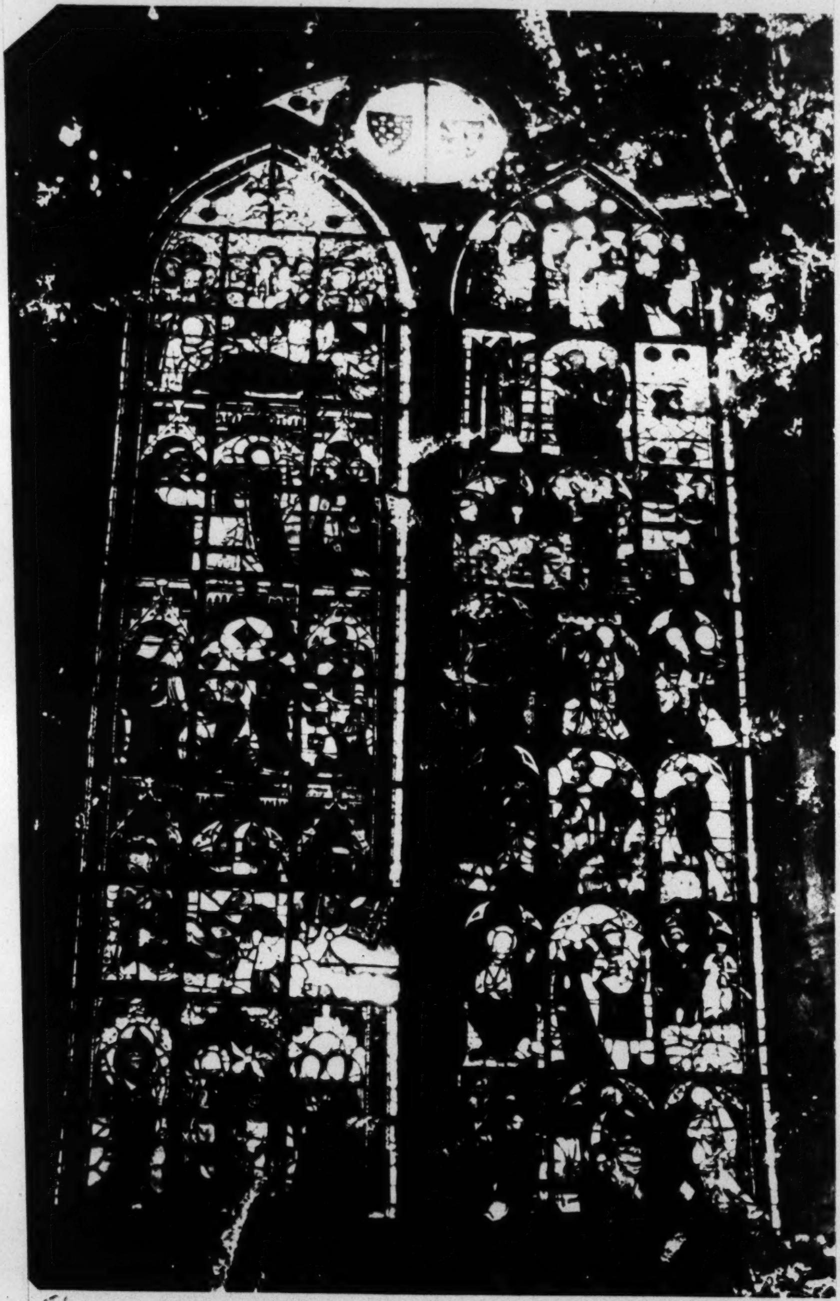
515

50b
Right lancet



515

50b

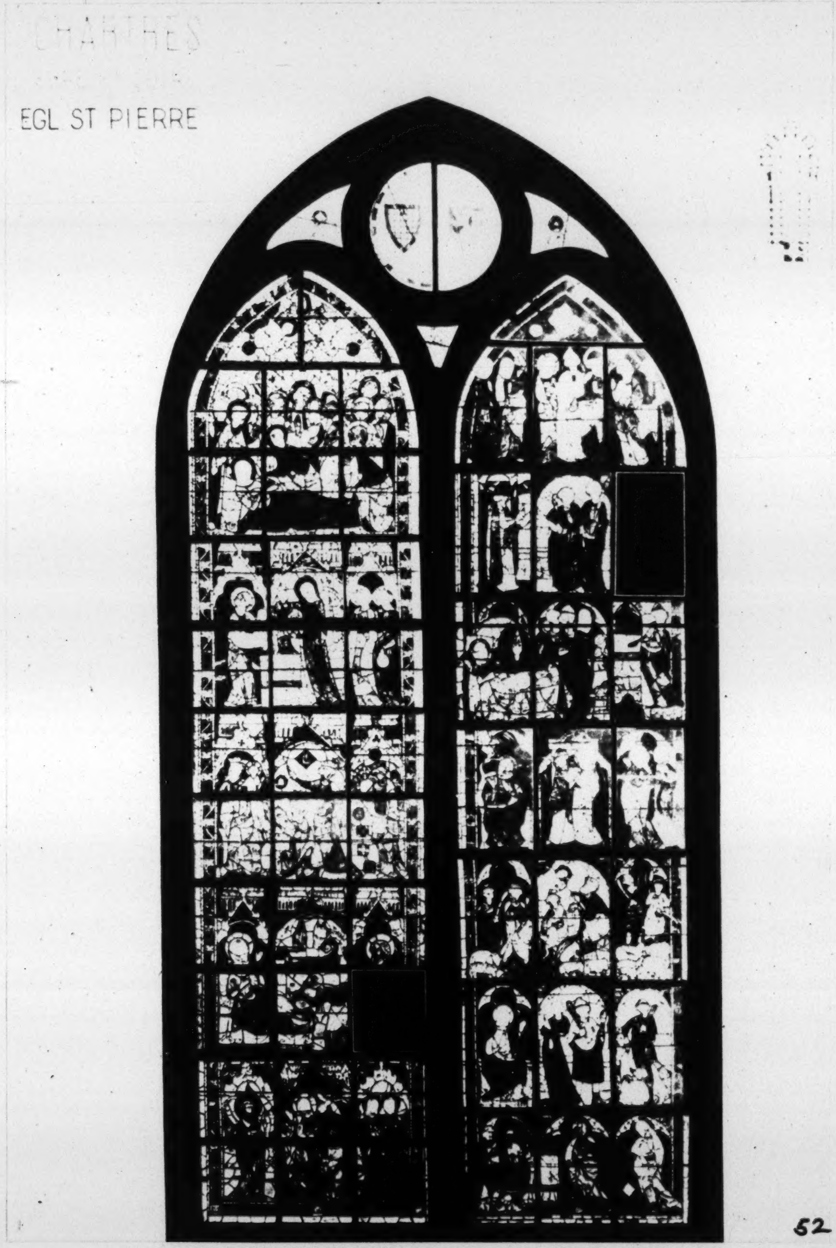


51

51

51

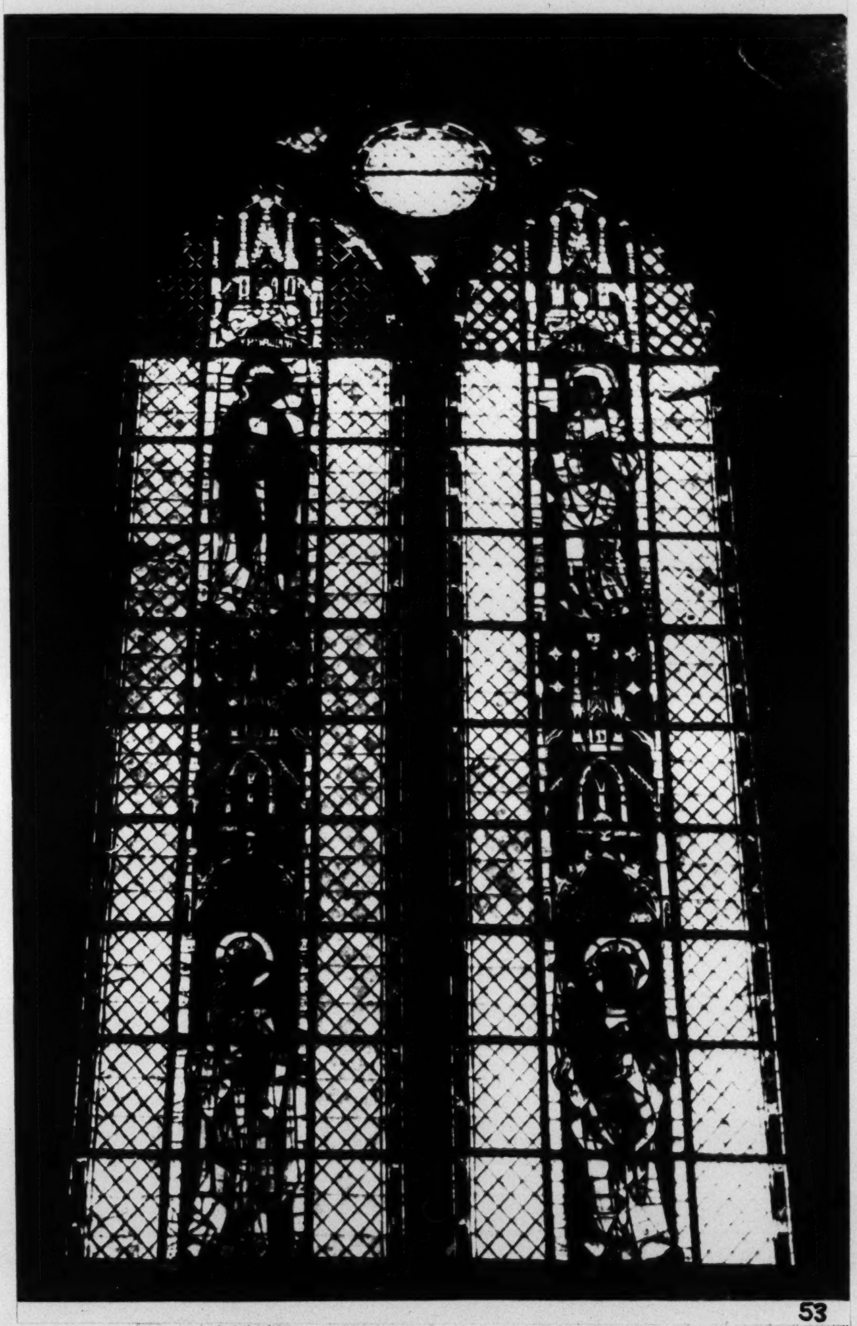
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 19. Taken after c. 1903 restorations.


CHARTRES
EGL ST PIERRE

52

52
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 19. Photomontage.
After 1950's restorations.

518



53

53

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 20. Photo probably taken after c. 1905 restorations.

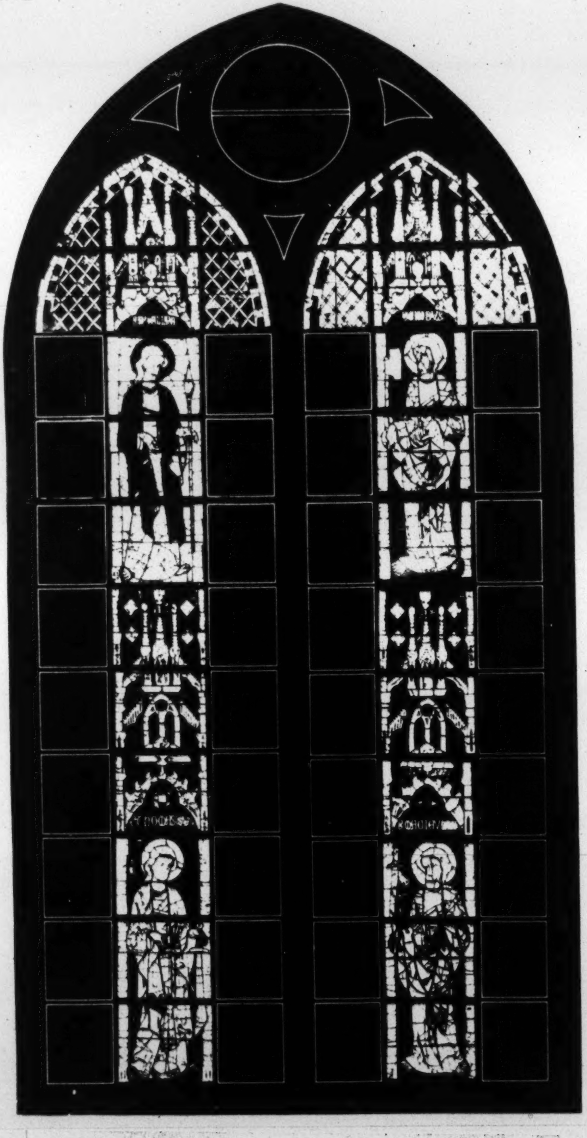
519

519

CHARTRES

EGL ST PIERRE

BAIE 20



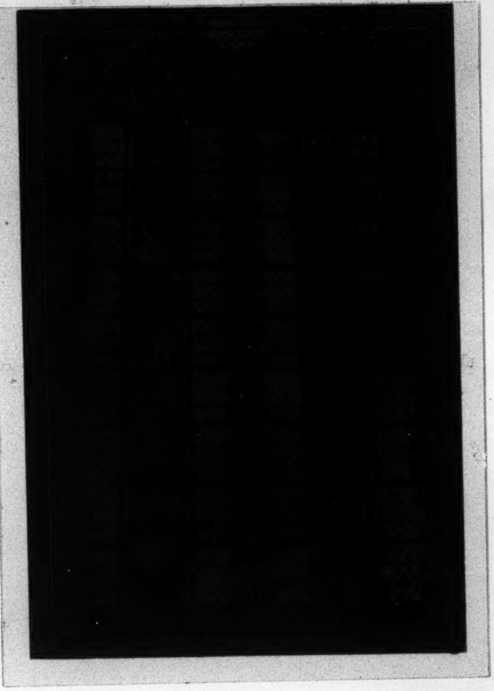
54

54

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 20. Photomontage.
After 1930's restorations.

55
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 20 (1965)

Photo: Allan Parsons



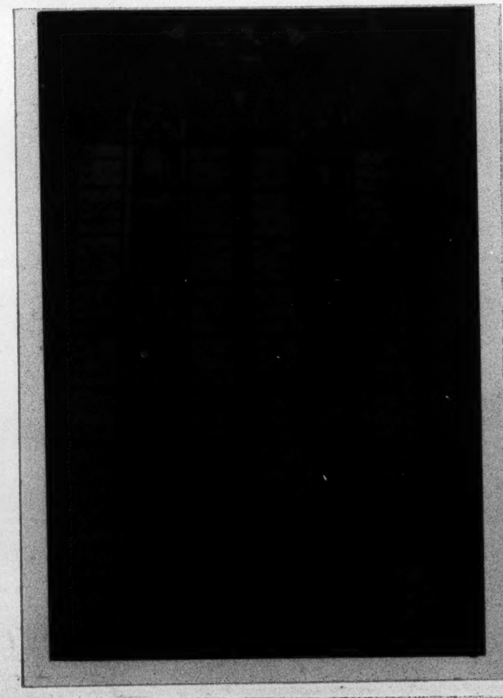
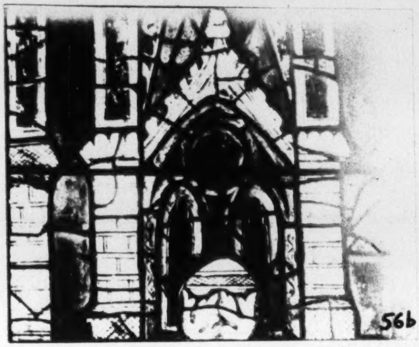


Photo: Allan Parsons

56a
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 21 (1965)

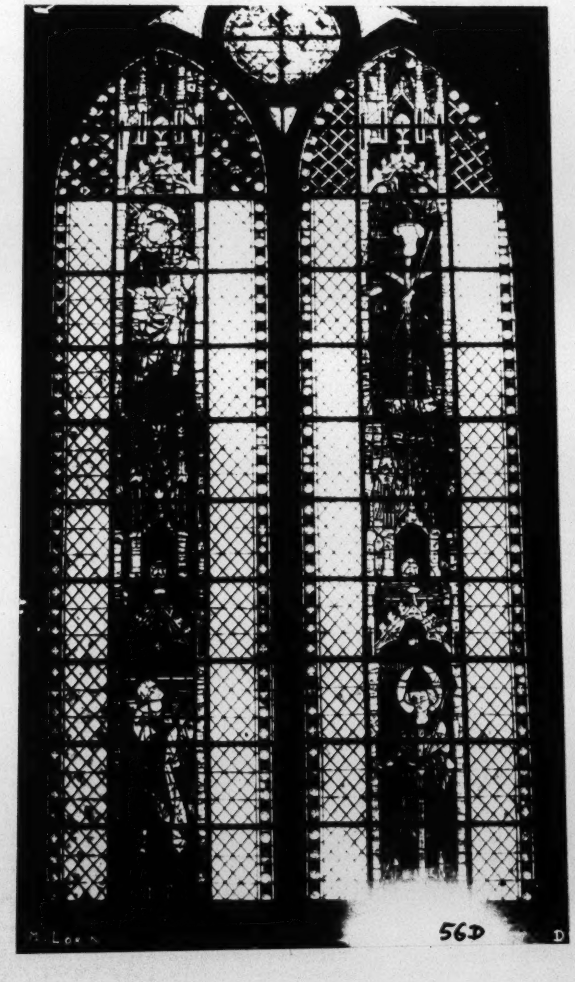
56

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 21, details.
(b) top left: left lancet, lower canopy (5th panel from bottom).
(c) middle left: right lancet, upper panel - disperwork and border.



56b

56c



56D

56d
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 21. Photo probably taken after c. 1905 restorations.

522

CHARTRES

EURE ET LOIR

EGL. ST PIERRE

ECHELLE 1:10

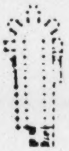
522

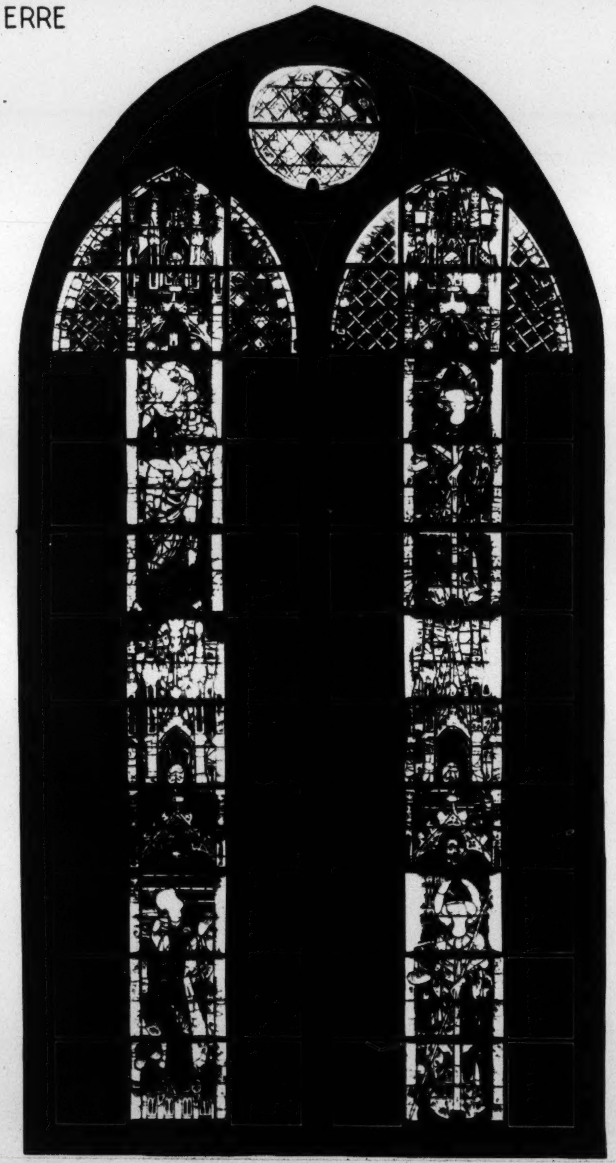
BAIE 21 APR

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]





57

57

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 21. Photomontage.
After 1930's restorations.

523

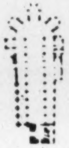
523

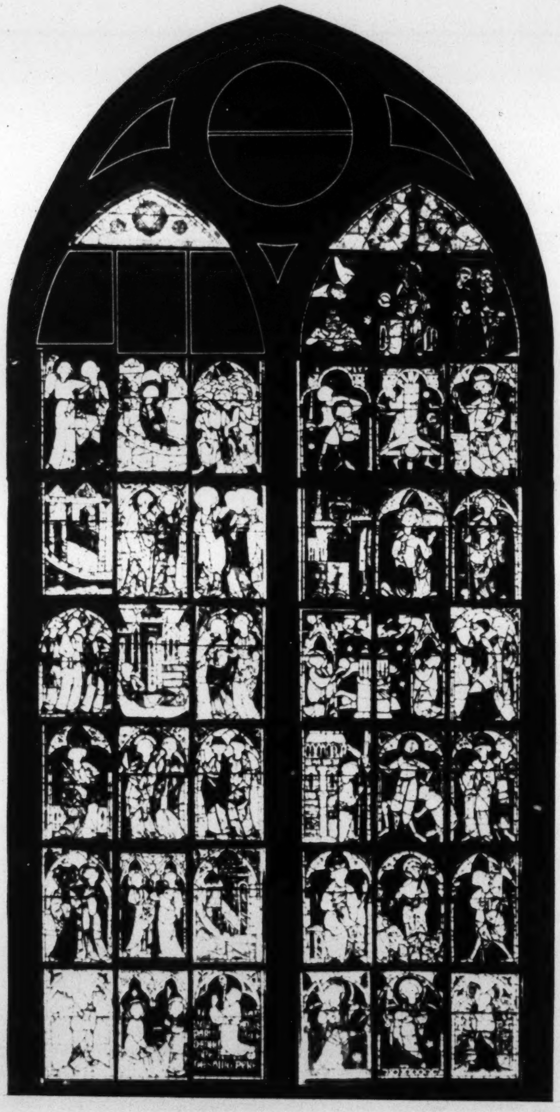
BAIE 22 APR

CHARTRES

EURE ET LOIR

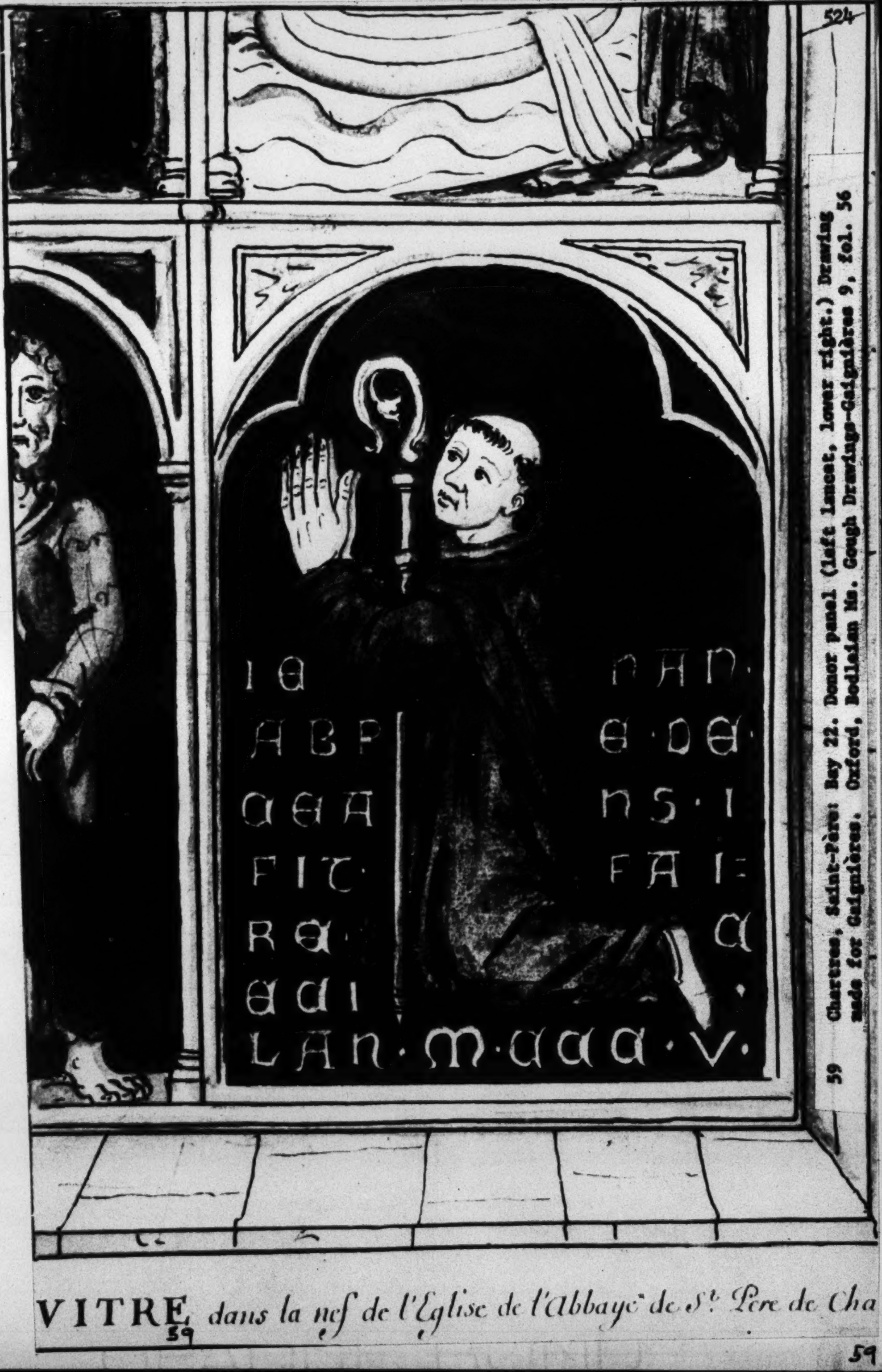
EGL ST PIERRE



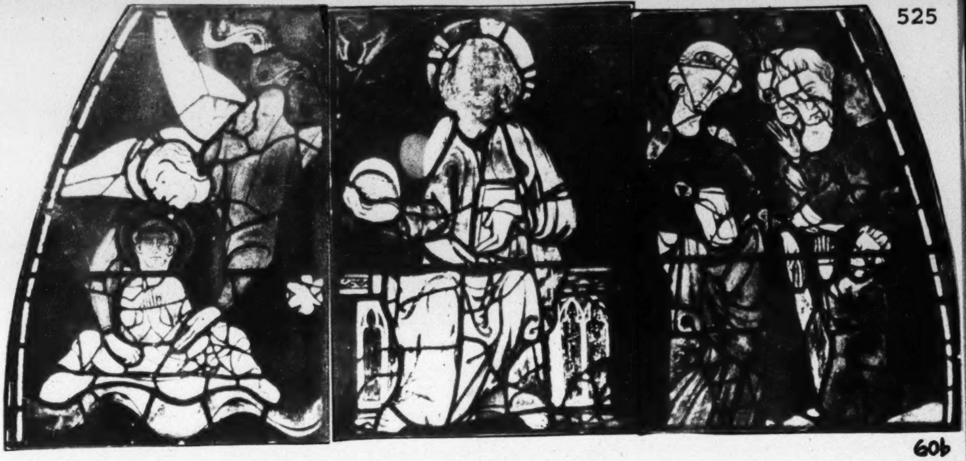


58

58
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 22. Photomontage.
After 1930's restorations.


IA
ABB
CEA
FIT
RE
EAI
NAN
E DE
NS I
FAI
C
.
LAN M CCC V
VITRE dans la nef de l'Eglise de l'Abbaye de St. Pere de Cha
59
59

59 Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 22. Donor panel (left lancet, lower right.) Drawing made for Gaignières. Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Gough Drawings-Gaignières 9, fol. 56

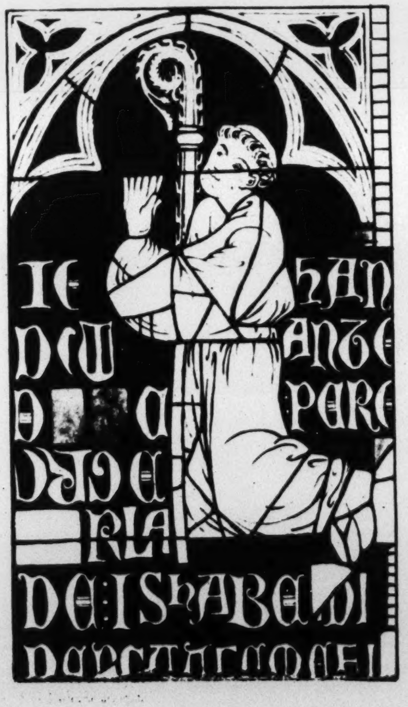


60b

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 22

60a
Right: Donor panel (1857). (From de Lasteyrie)

60b
Above: Detail, right lancet, top.


IE HAN
ANTE
PERE
RLA

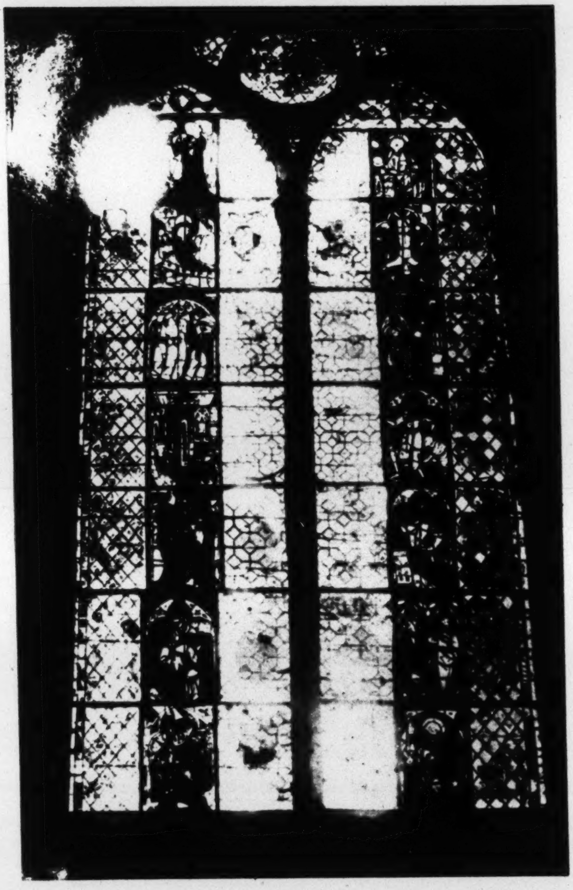
JEAN DE MANTE

ABBÉ DE SAINT PERE

St Pierre de Chartres

60a

586



61

61
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 22. Photo from Lorin studio, taken before c. 1905 restorations.

527

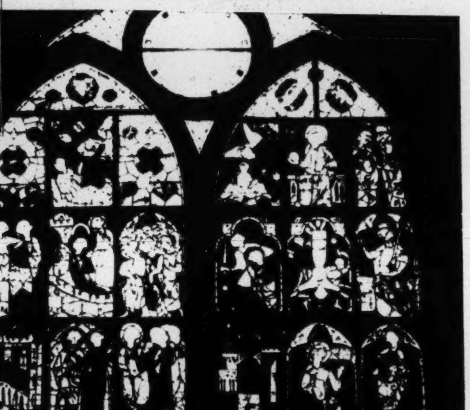
527

527

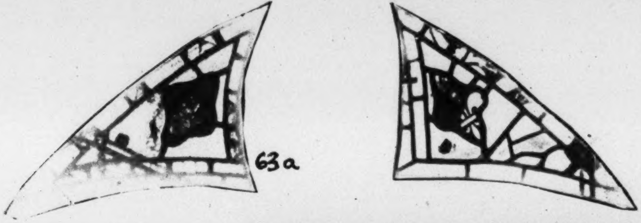
62a
Chartres, Saint-Père:
Bay 22 (1965)

Photo: Allen Parsons

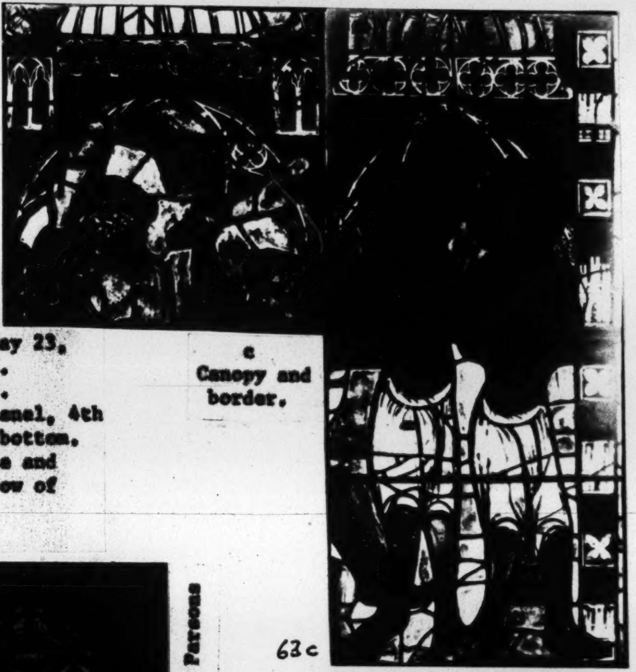
62b
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 22, Photo taken
after c.1905 restorations



62b



63a



63
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 23,
details, right lancet.
(a) top: tracery lights.
(b) middle left: Left panel, 4th row of scenes from bottom.
(c) middle right: middle and right panels, 3rd row of scenes from bottom.

c
Canopy and border.

63c

b
Exaggerated posture, crude, bold modelling.

63b

Photo: Allan Parsons

63d
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 23 (1965)

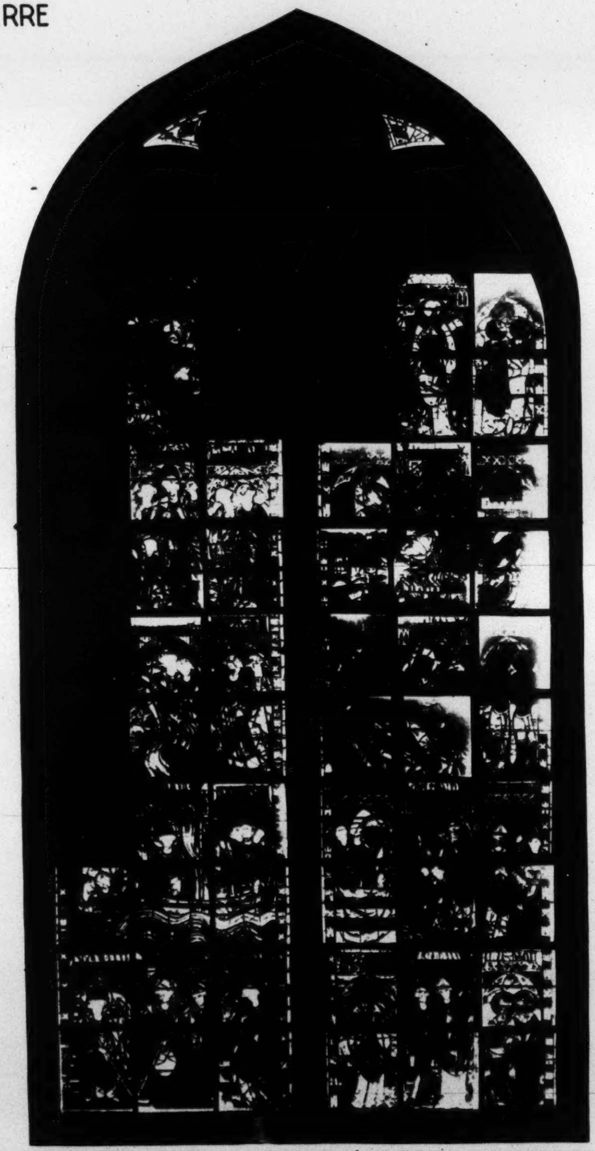
529

529

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE

ECHELLE 1 10

BAIE 23 APR
HAUTE NEF SUD
VIE ET MARTYRE DE ST CLEMENT PAP
MARTYRE DE ST DENIS

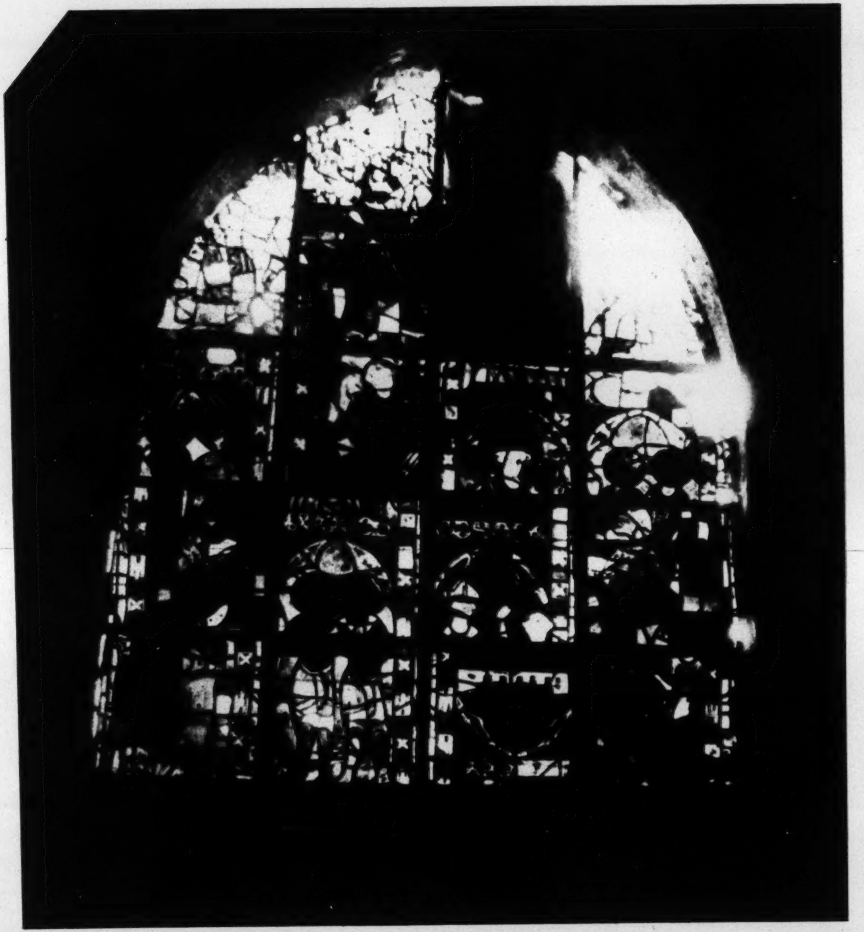


64

64

64
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 23. Photomontage. After 1950's restorations.

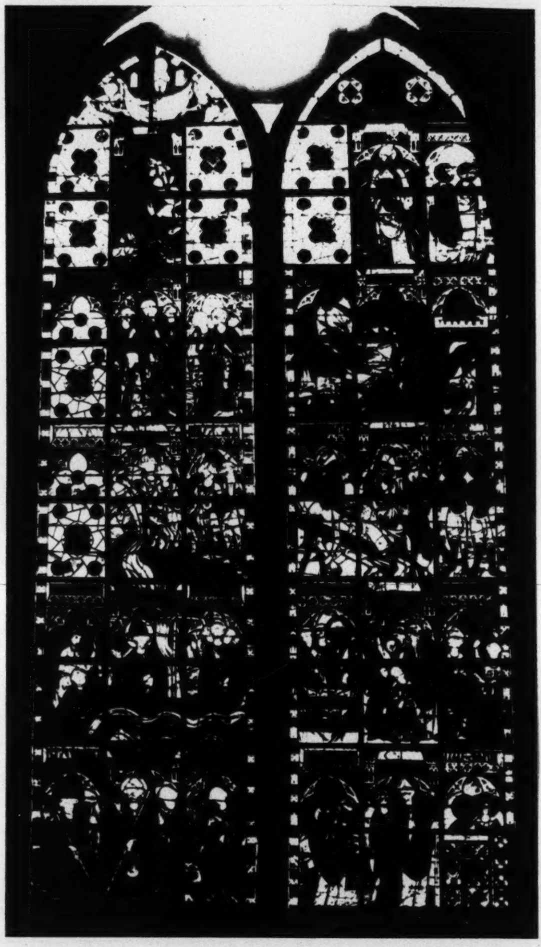
530



65

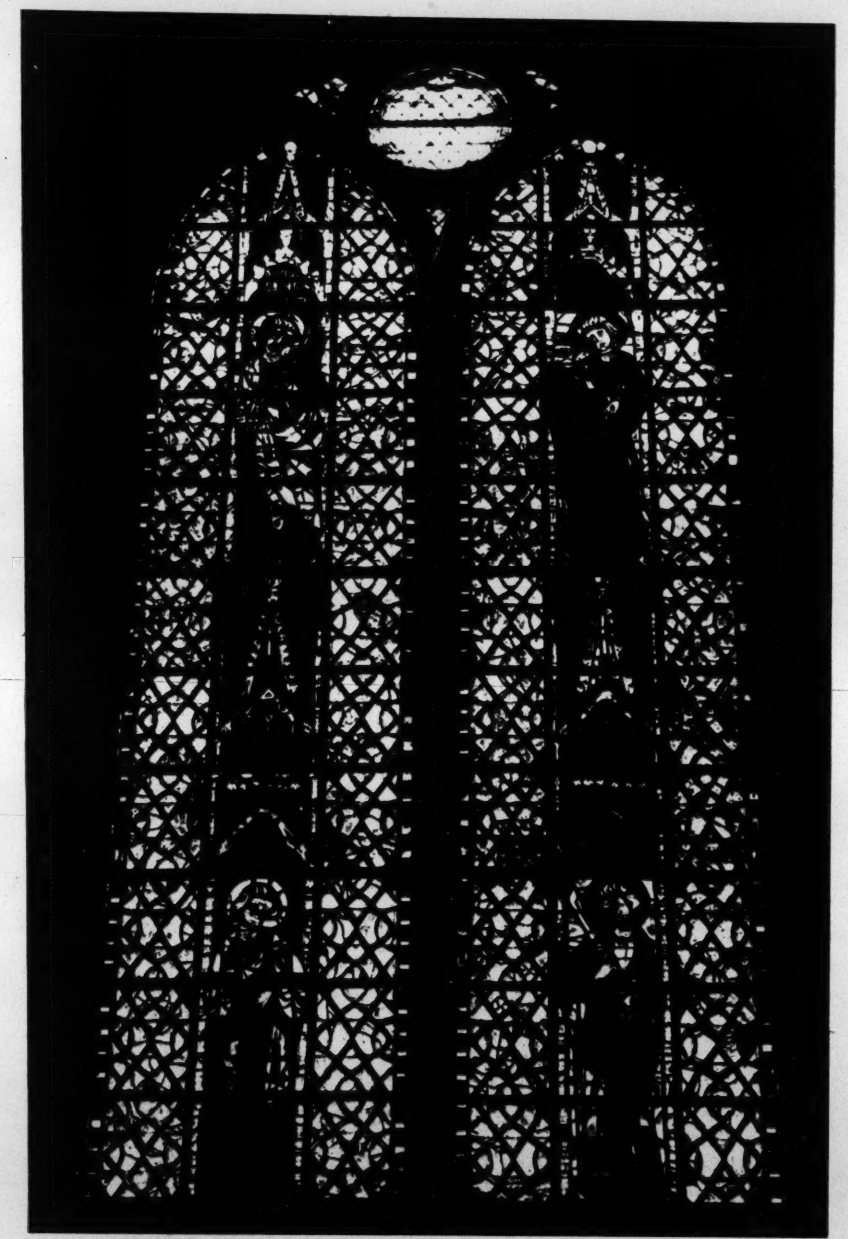
65

Chartres, Saint-Père: panels from Bay 23, located in a window in the choir ambulatory. Photo taken before the c. 1905 restorations.



66

66
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 23. Photo taken after the c. 1905 restorations.

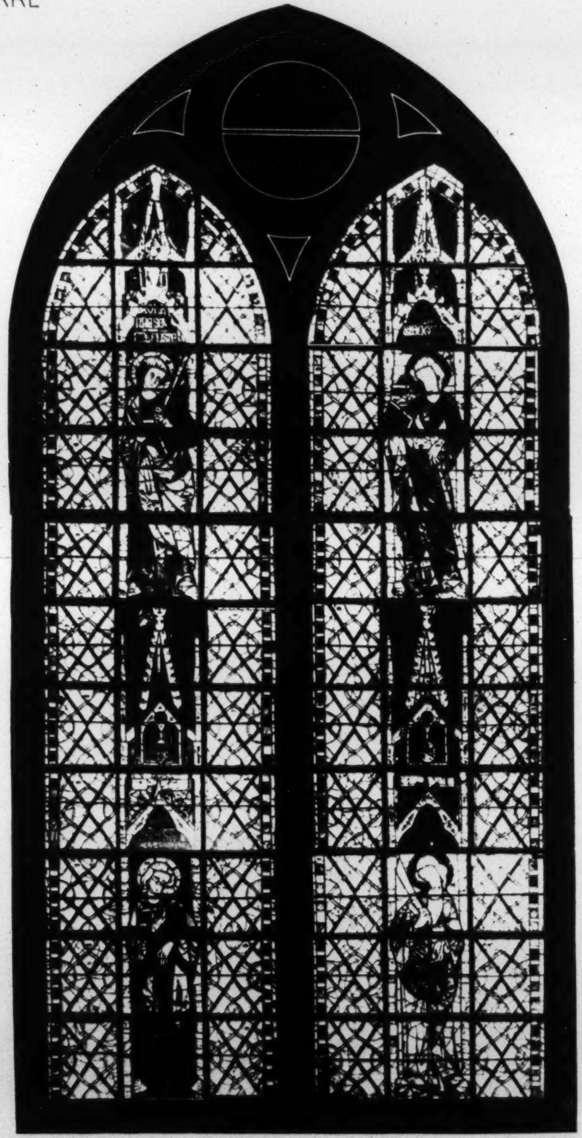


67

67
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 24. Photo taken
before 1922.

533

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE

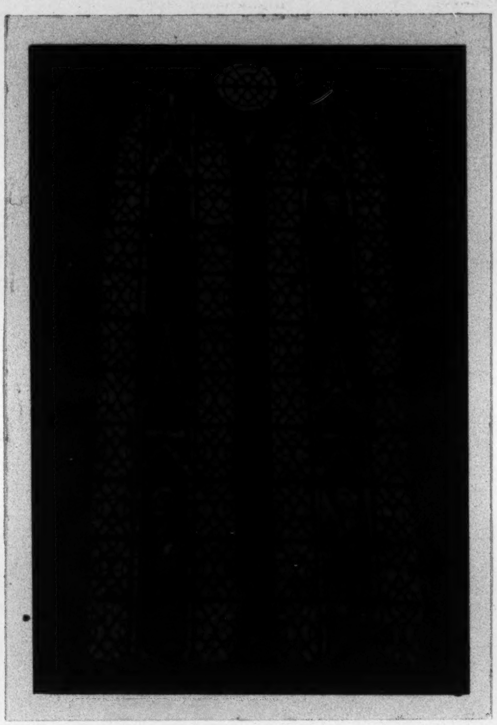


68

68
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 24. Photomontage.
After 1950's restorations.

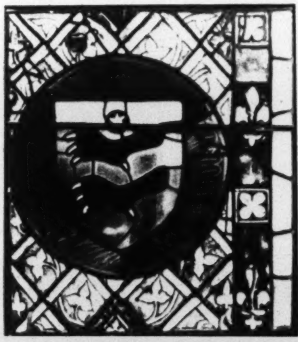
534

Photo: Allan Parsons



534

69
Chartres, Saint-Père:
Bay 24 (1965)

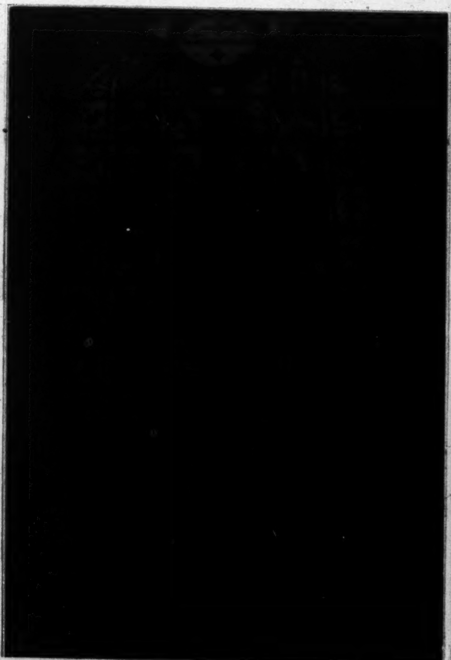


70a

70b

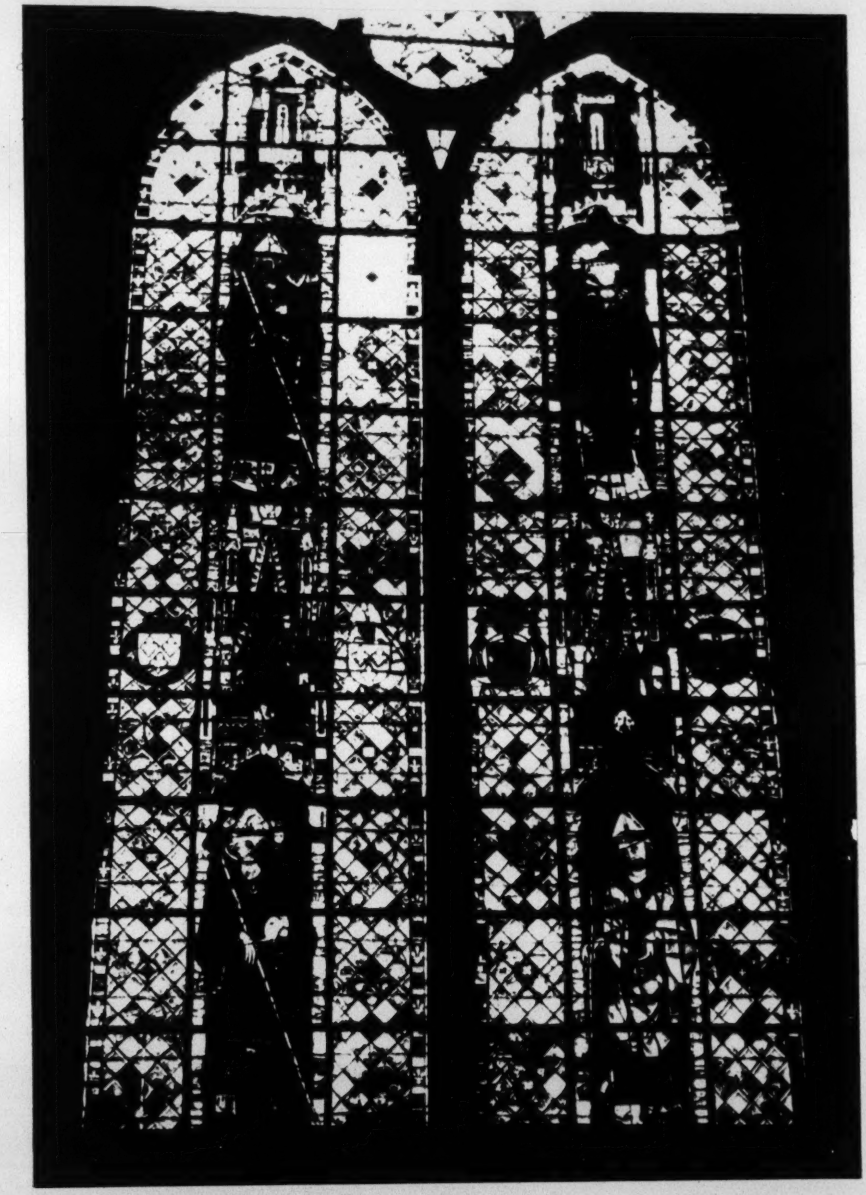
70
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 25, details
(a) Above: grisaille and border (arms are a later addition) right lancet
(b) Below: lettering style. (top left figure)

Photo: Allan Parsons



70c
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 25 (1965)

535



71

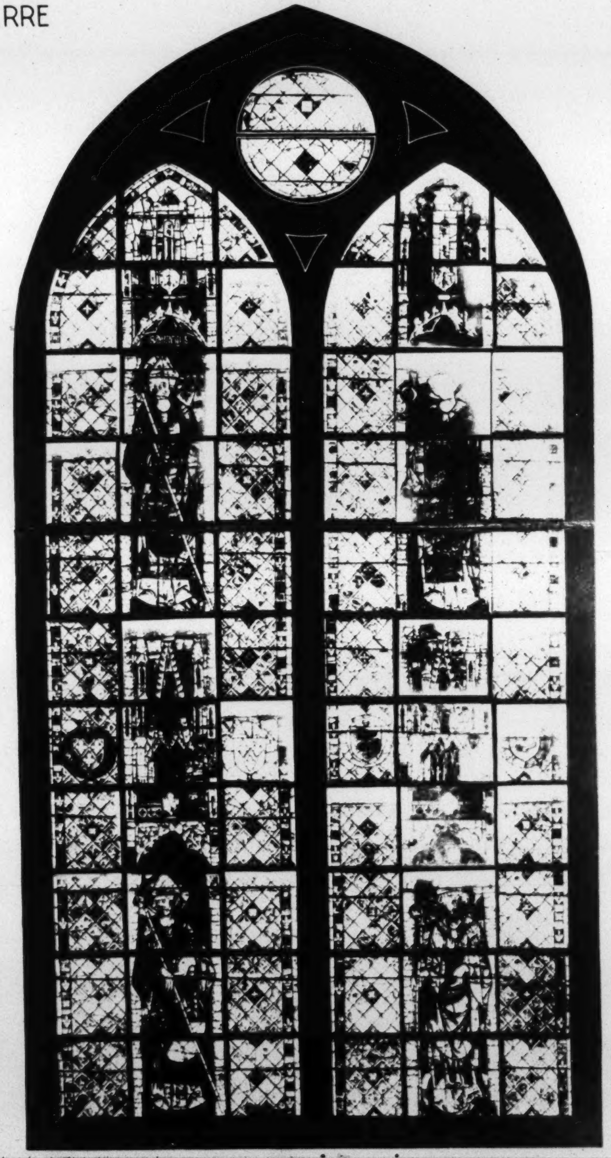
71
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 23. Photo taken before 1922.

536

536

BAIE 25

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE

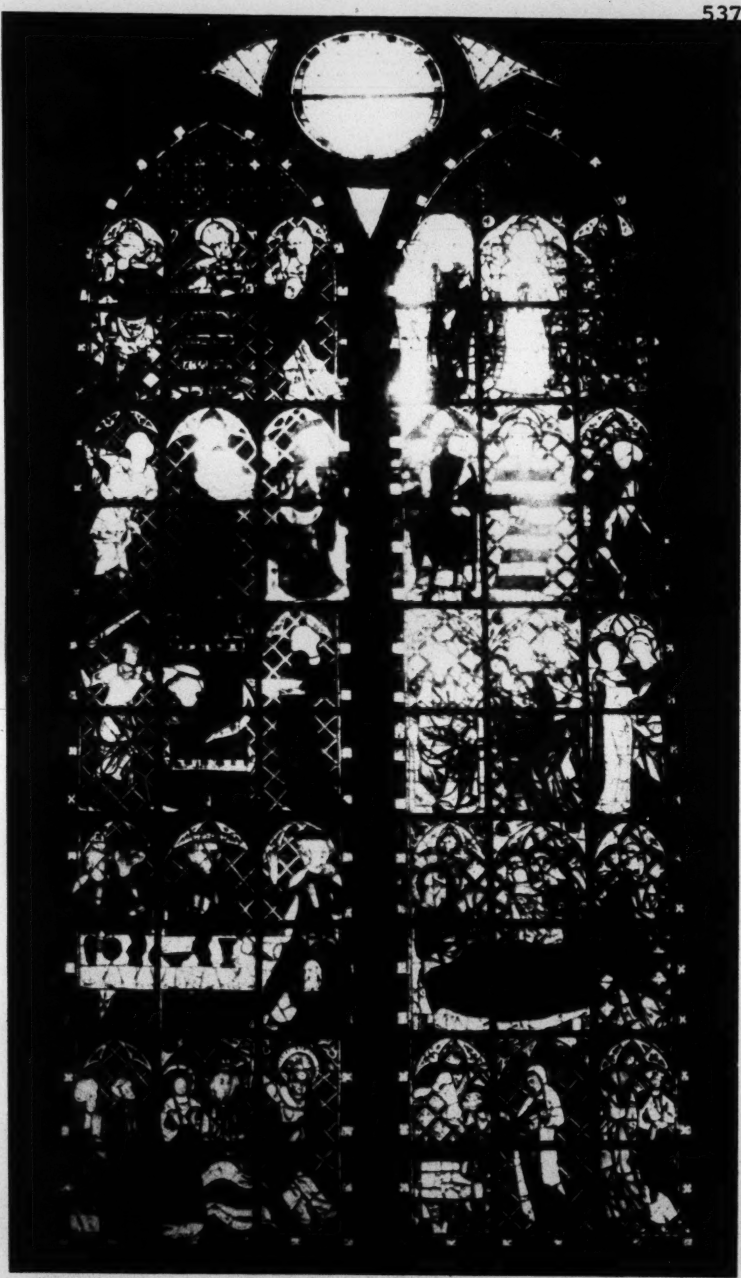


72

72
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 25. Photomontage.
After 1930's restorations.

537

537



73

73

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 26. Photo taken before 1922.

538

Photo: Allan Parsons

74

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 26 (1965)

538

75

Chartres, Saint-Père:
Bay 26, details

top row: Herod's feast with
Dance of Salome
(left lancet)

bottom row: Visitation;
Zacharias naming
the Baptist
(right lancet)

75

539

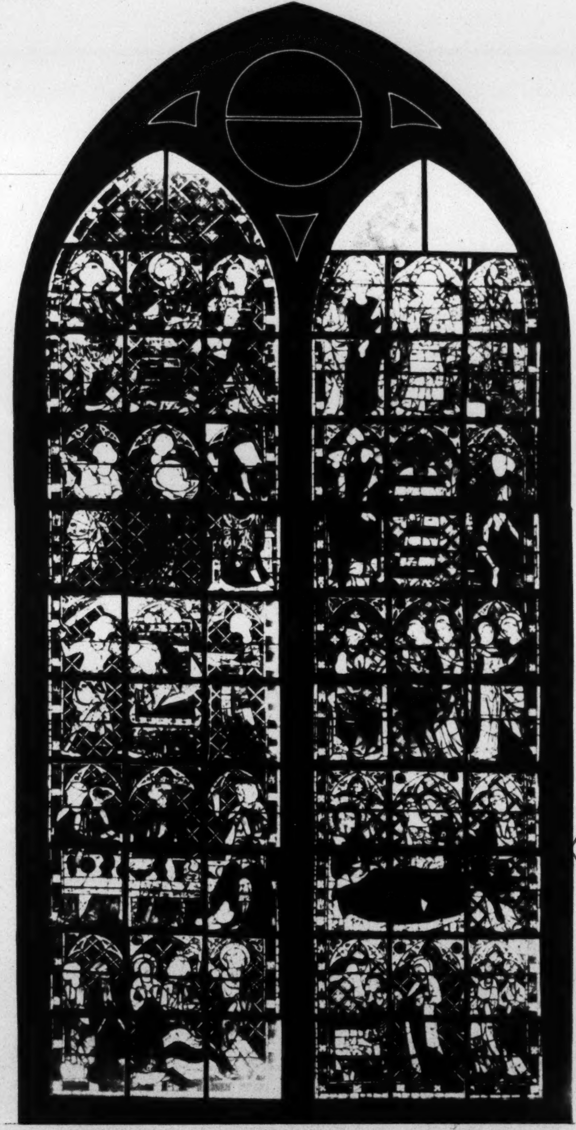
539

BAIE 26 AV R

CHARTRES

EURE ET LOIR

EGL. ST PIERRE



76

76

76

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 26. Photomontage.
After 1950's restorations.

77
Chartres, Saint-Pere: Bay 27 (1965)

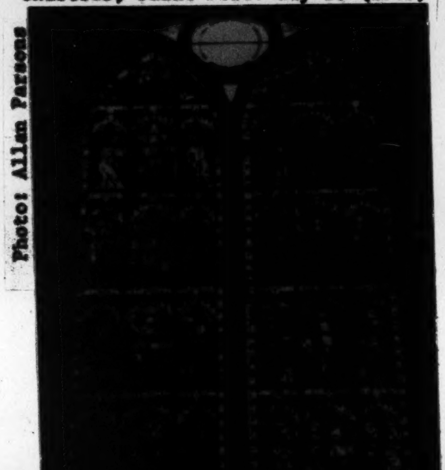
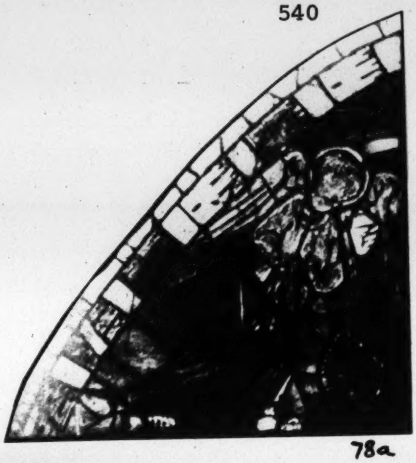
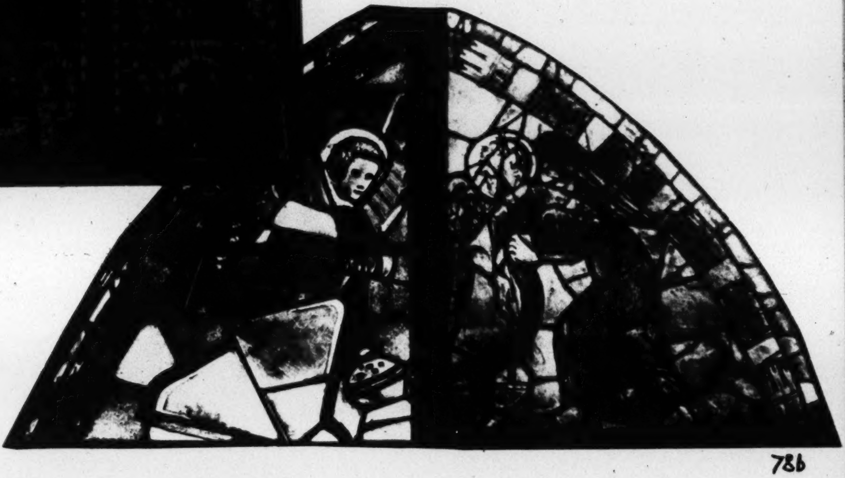


Photo: Allen Parsons



78a



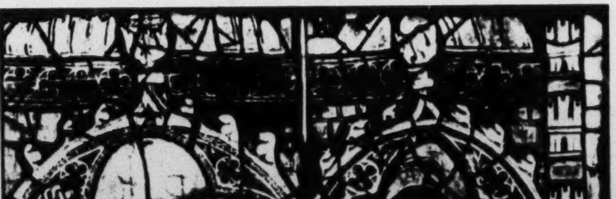
78b

78
Chartres, Saint-Pere:
Bay 27, details.

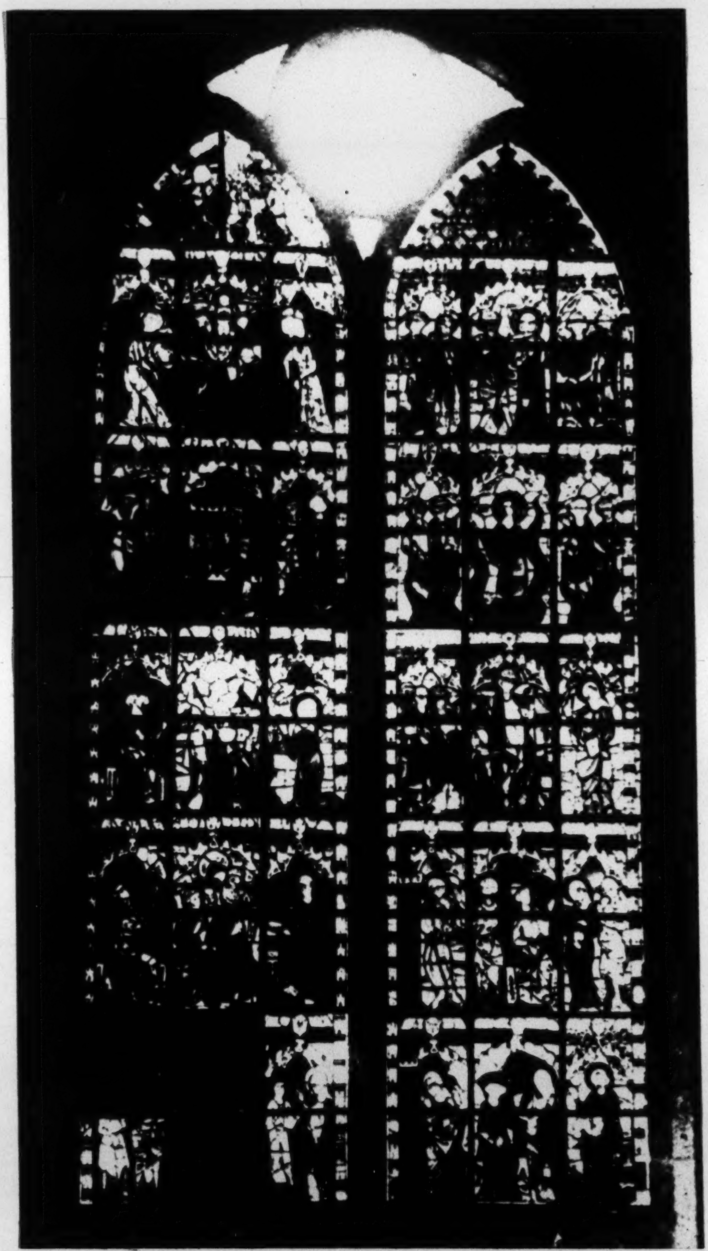
(a) Top right: left lancet, left panel of tympanum – censing angel.

(b) Middle right: right lancet, tympanum. Left angel is by Francois Lorin, 1950's.

(c) Bottom right: left lancet, 3rd row of scenes from the bottom.
Canopywork



78c



79

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 27. Photo taken before 1922.

542

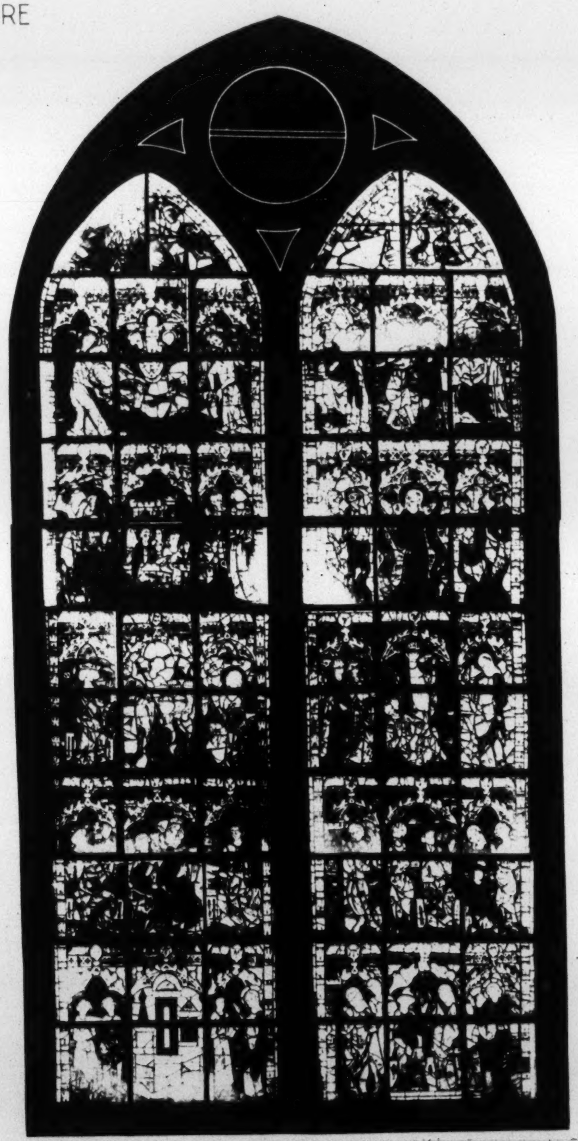
542

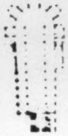
CHARTRES

EURE ET LOIR

EGL ST PIERRE

BAIE 27 APR





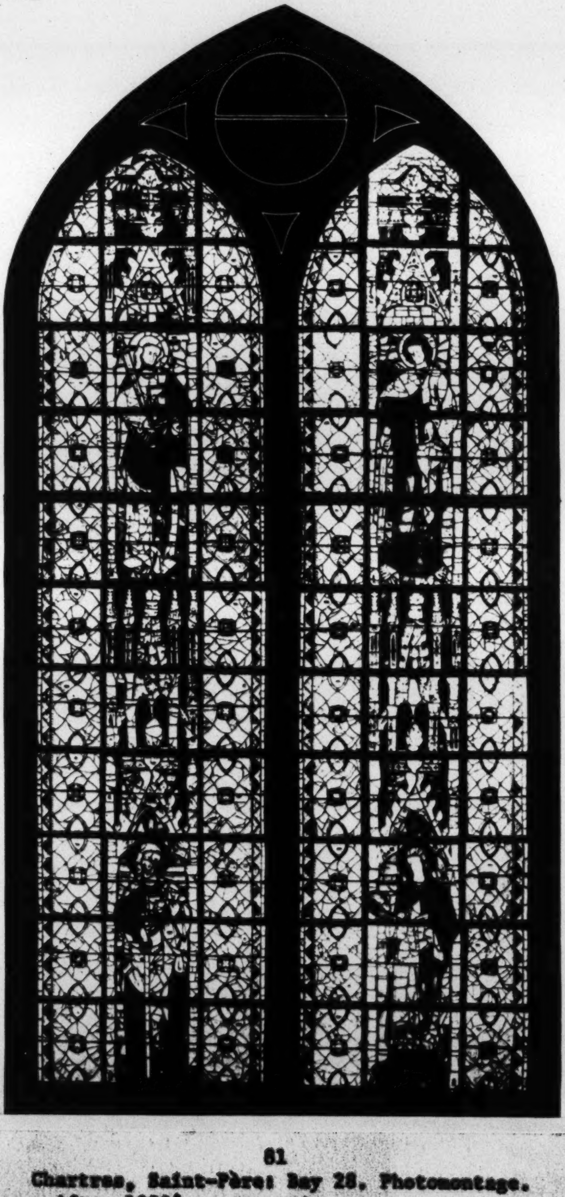
80

80

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 27. Photomontage.
After 1930's restorations.

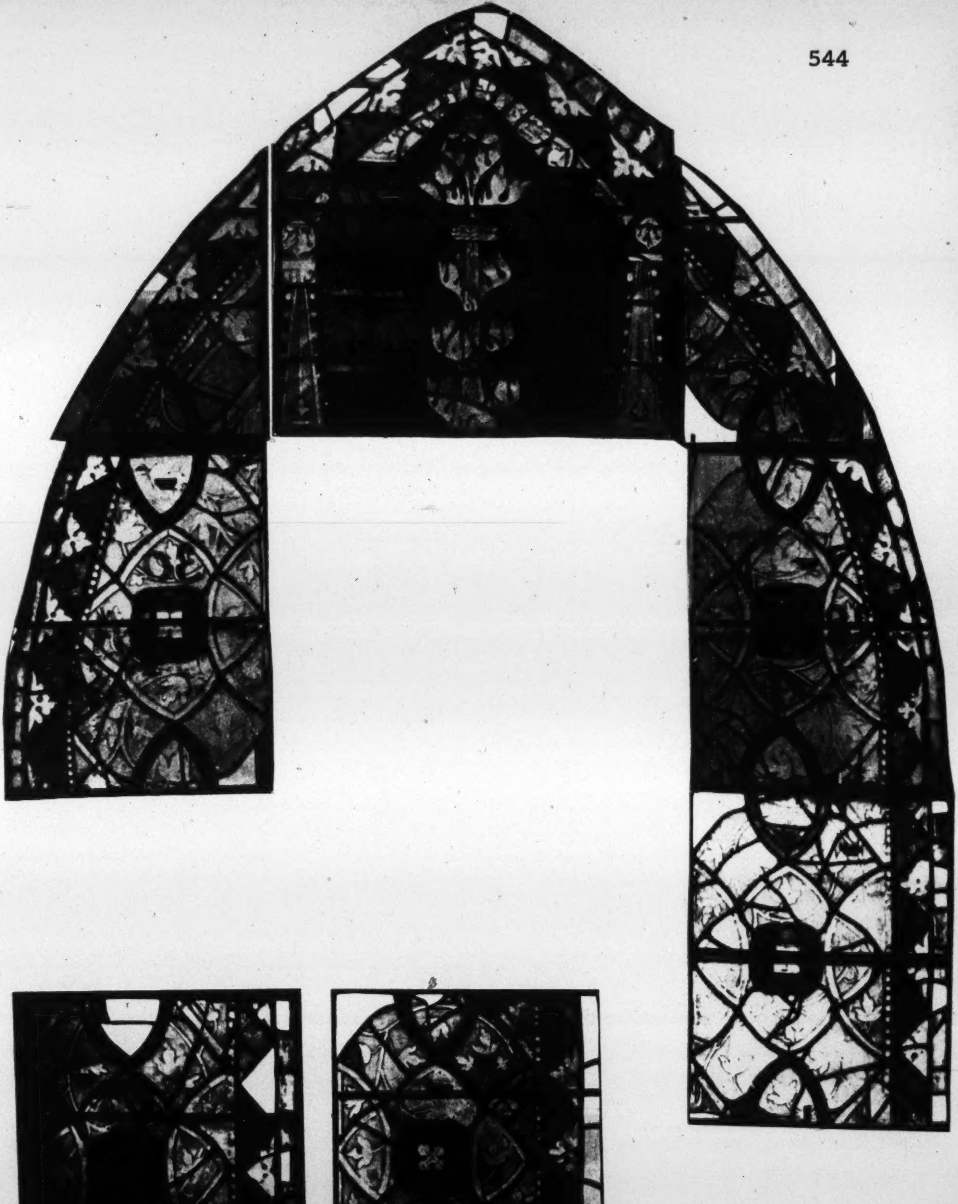
543

CHARTRES
EURE ET LOIR
EGL. ST PIERRE



81

81
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 28. Photomontage.
After 1930's restorations.



82

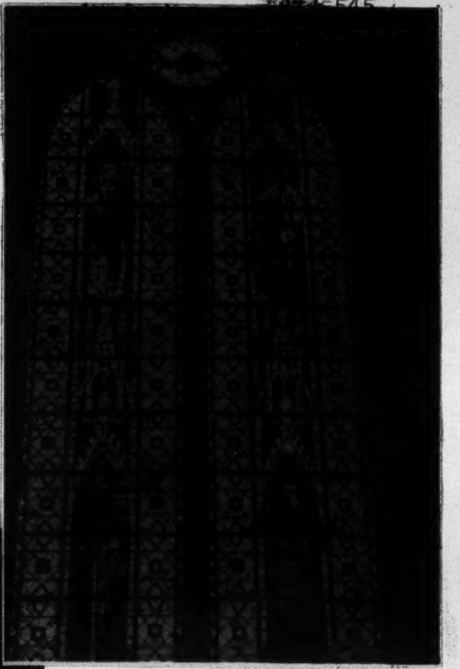
82
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 28, details,
right lancet (before 1930's restoration).

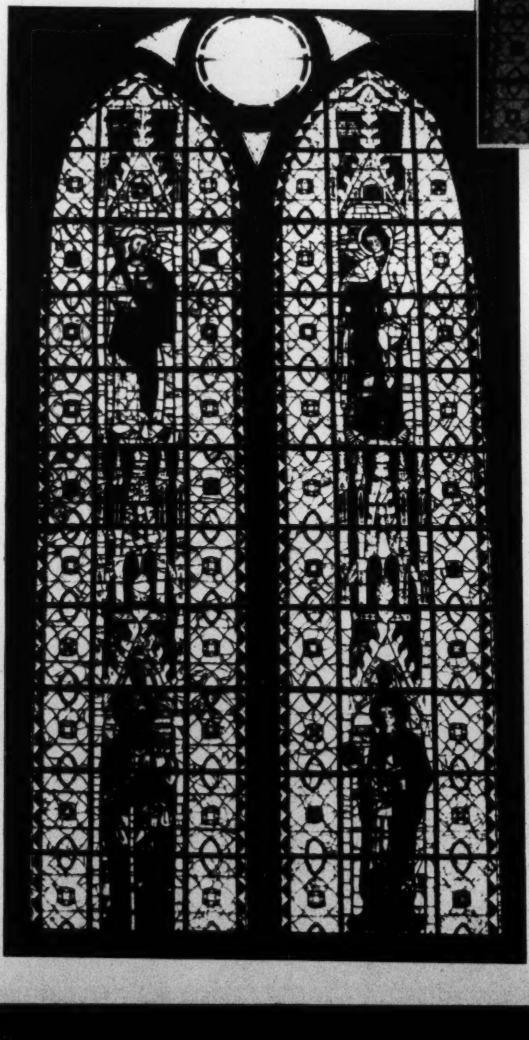
Grisaille panels and canopywork.

83a
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 28 (1965)

#545-545

Photo: Allan Parsons





83b
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 28.
Photo probably taken after
c. 1905 restorations.

83b

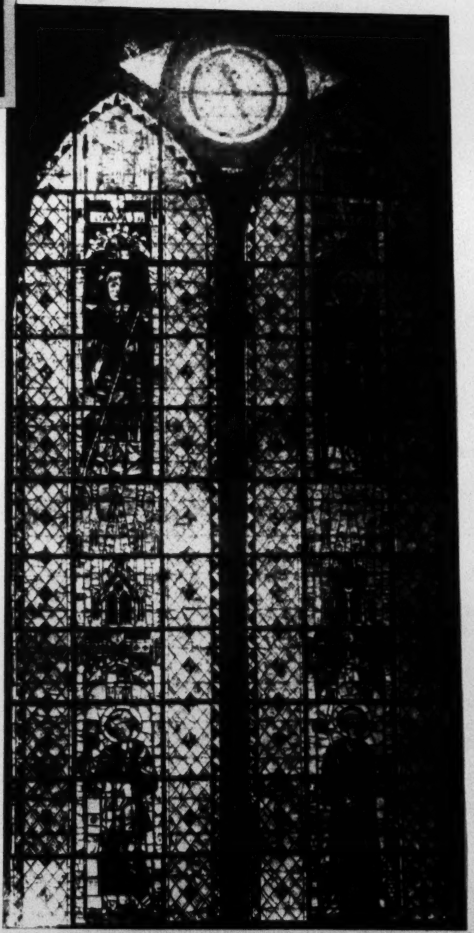
546

84a
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 29 (1965)

546

Photo: Allan Parsons

84b
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 29. Photo from Lorin studio. Probably taken after c. 1905 restoration.



84b

547

547

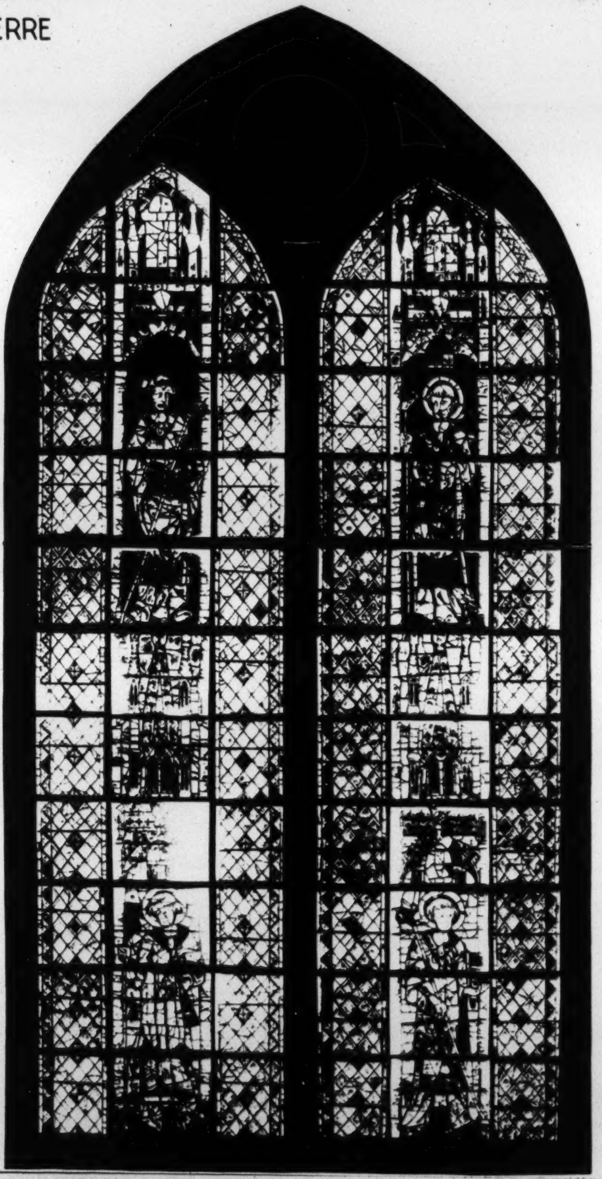
BAIE 29 APR

CHARTRES

EURE ET LOIR

EGL. ST PIERRE

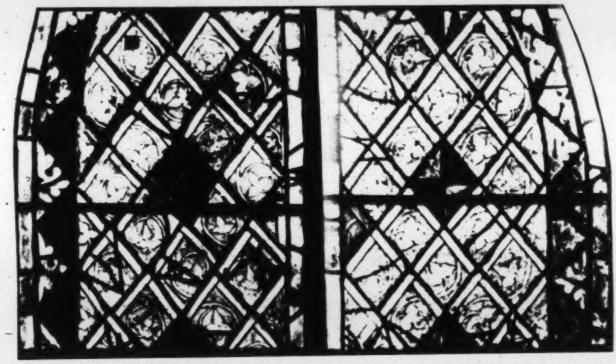
ECHELLE 1:10



85

85

Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 29. Photomontage.
After 1930's restorations.



86

86
Chartres, Saint-Père: Bay 29, details, right lancet.

Grisailles.

87

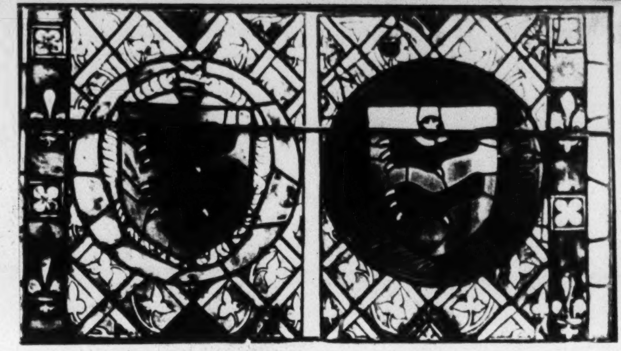
2 fragments in the style of the
re-used panels of the straight-choir.

a

b

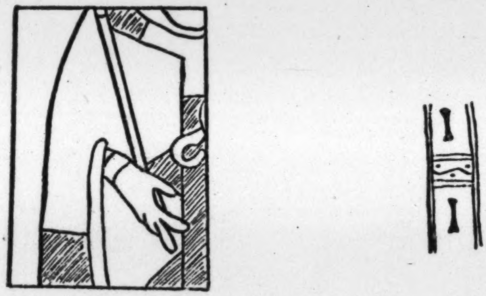
c

d


88

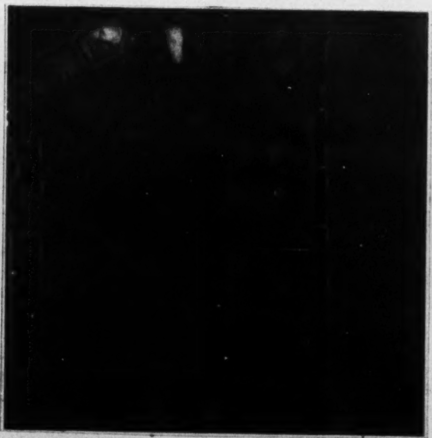
88
Arms of Helie de Bourdeilles (b.1423, bishop of Perigueux 1447, archbishop of Tours 1467, cardinal 1483, d. 1484).

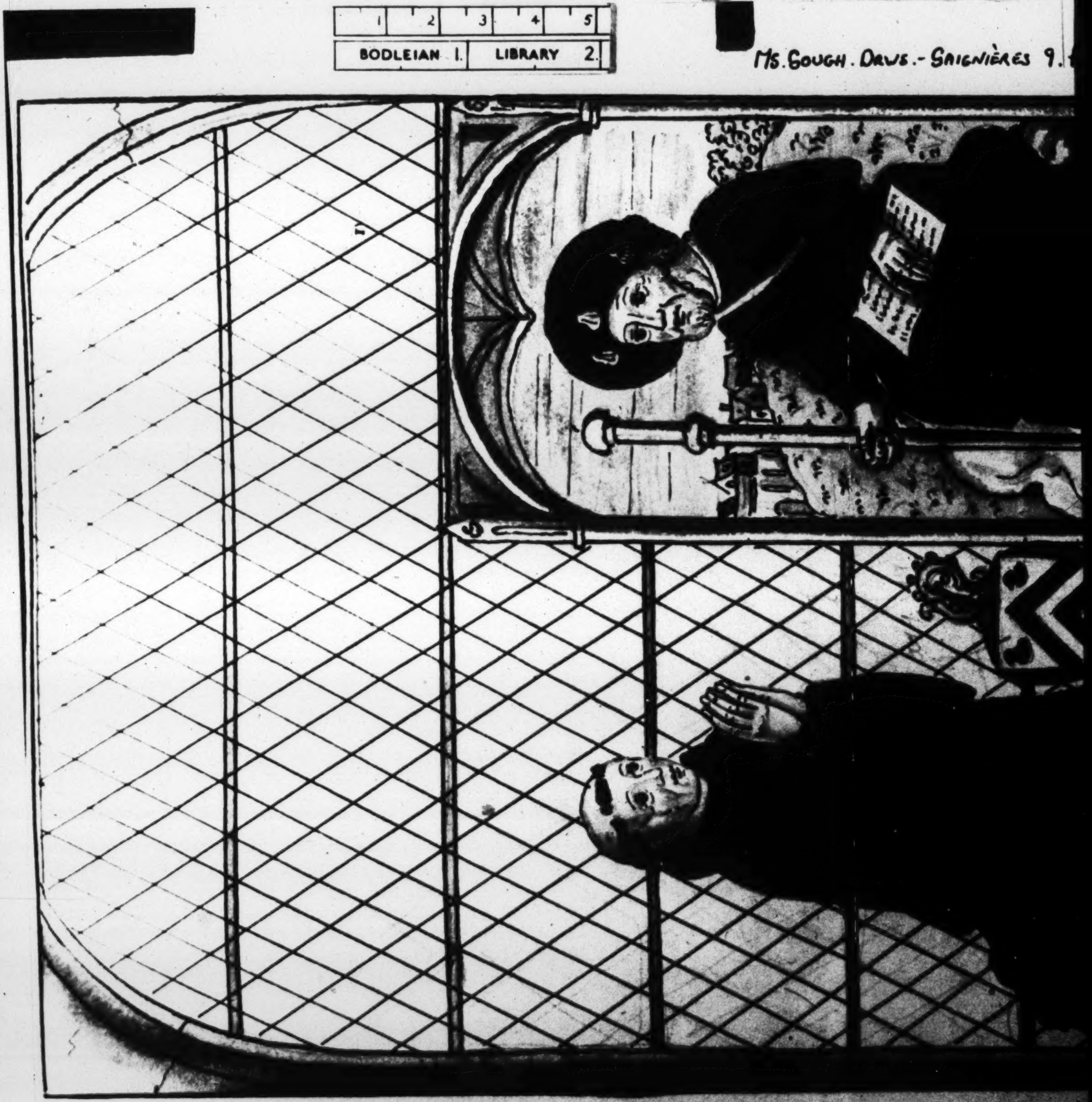
Added to 14th c. grisaille of Bay 25, south nave.


a

89
Fragment of abbot or bishop, probably from apse, Bay 7 (window blinded in mid-14th c. to build tourelle d'escalier.)

b


c

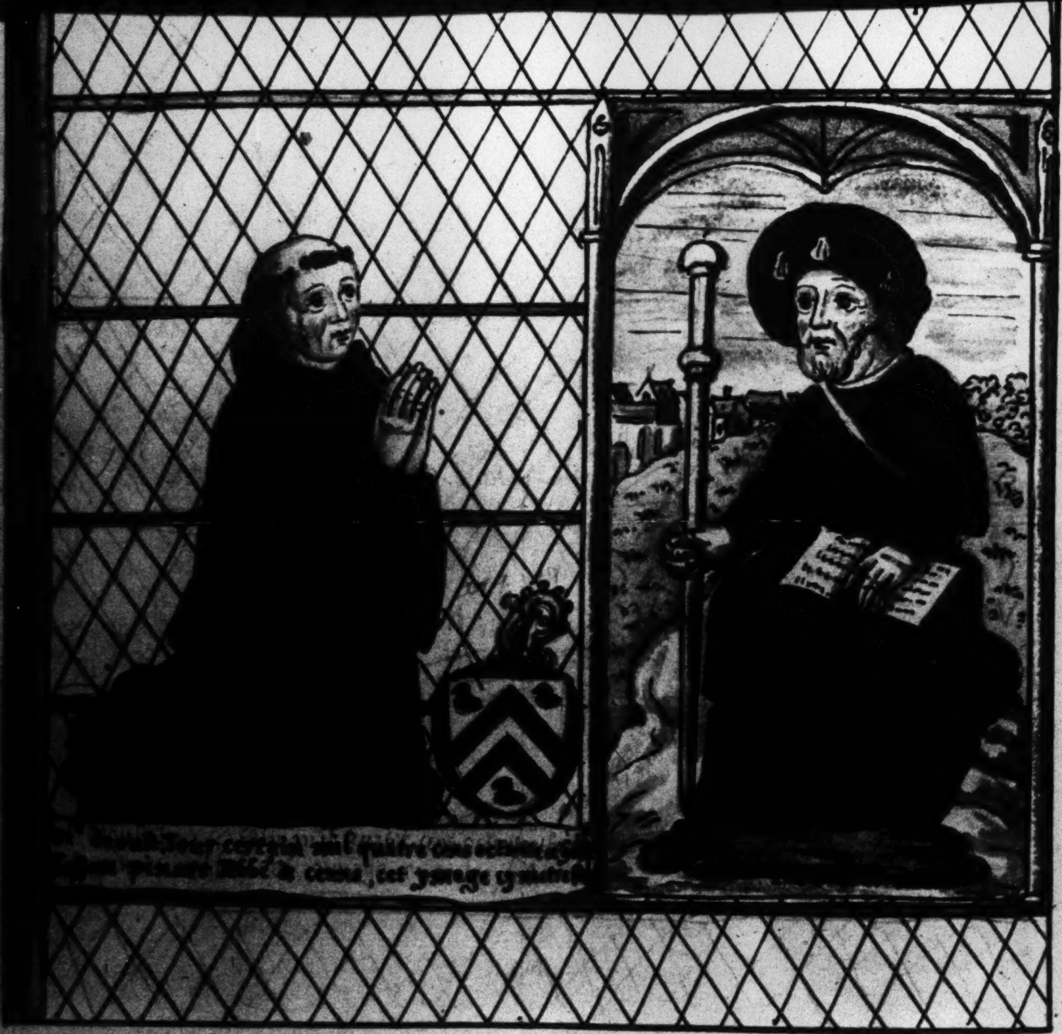

1 2 3 4 5
BODLEIAN 1. LIBRARY 2.
Ms. Gough. Drws. - Gaignières 9.

90
Lost 15th c. window of Abbot Jean Pinart
Oxford, Bodleian, Ms. Gough Drawings -
Gaignières 9, fol. 37.

90

BODLEIAN 1. LIBRARY 2.

Ms. Gough. Drws.- Gaignières 9. f 57



VITRE *a gauche dans la nef de l'Eglise de l'Abbaye de S.t Pere de Chartres.*

of Abbot Jean Pinart
Ms. Gough Drawings -
fol. 57.

90

Pina

gs -

552

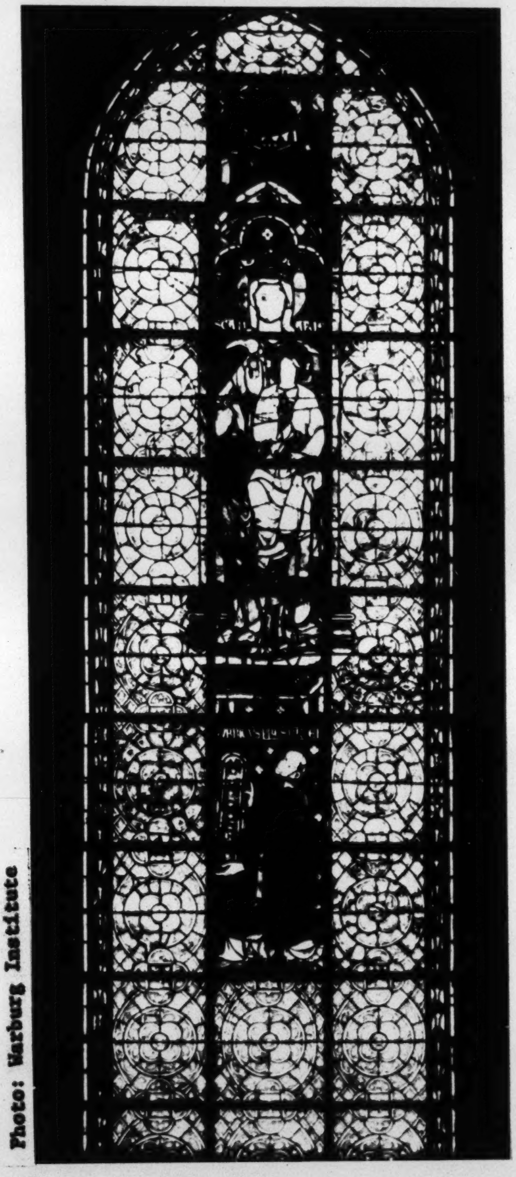


Photo: Warburg Institute

91

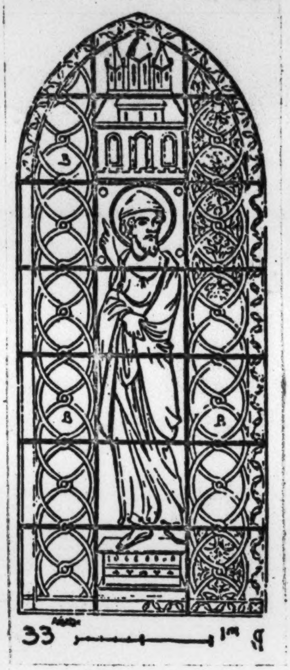
91

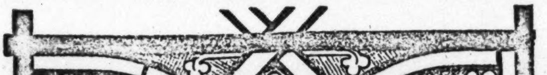
Auxerre: Hubericus Presbiter window, axial chapel.

92
Auxerre Cathedral:

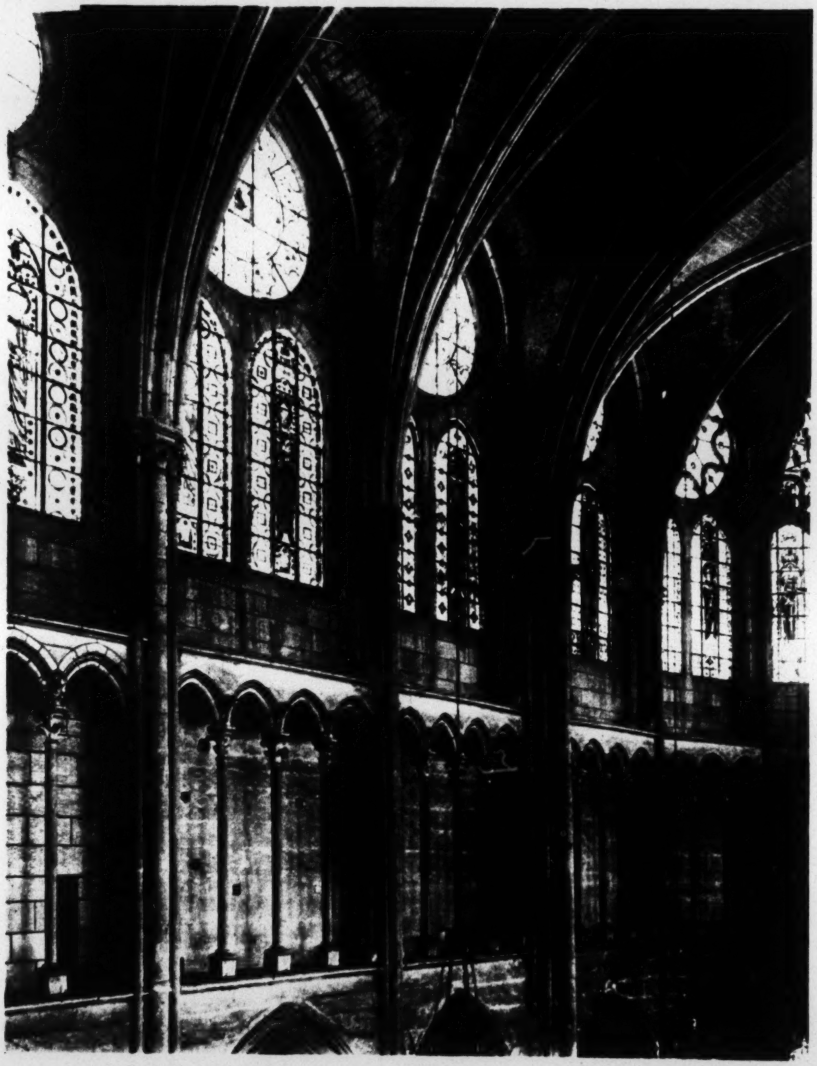
(a) Right: Clerestory window

**(b) Below: grisaille from the axial chapel
(from Viollet-le-duc, "Vitrail")**





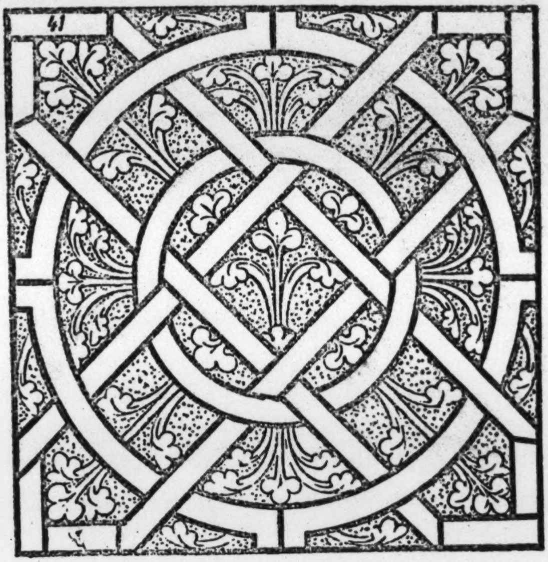
554

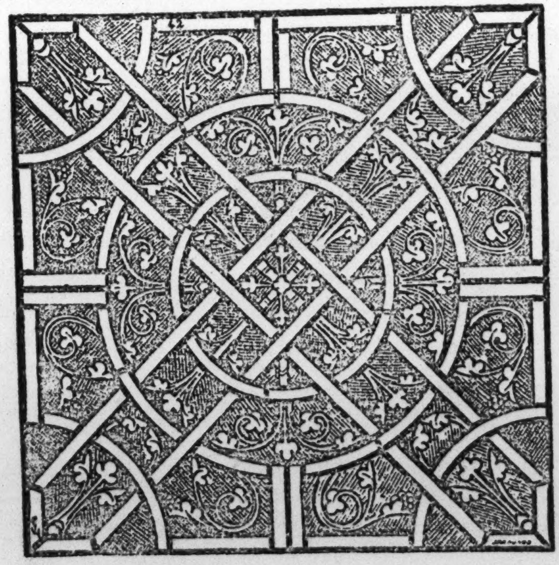


15. Auxerre Cathedral, a detail of the clerestory and triforium.

93

93
Auxerre Cathedral:
Clerestory and
triforium (choir).





94
Troyes Cathedral: grisailles (from Viollet-le-duc, "Vitrail")

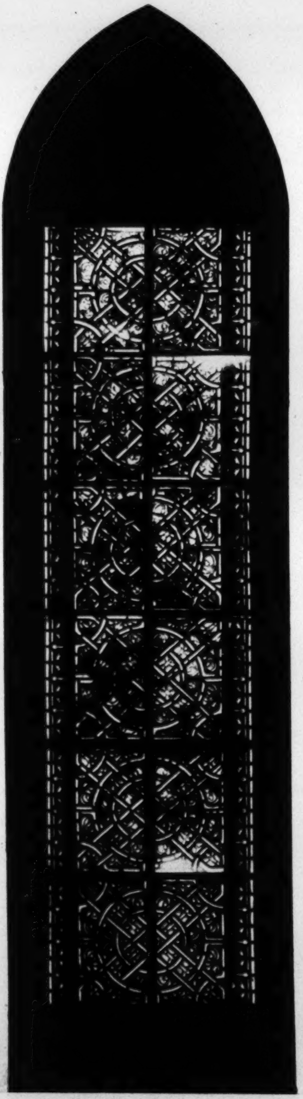
556

556

TROYES

AUBE
CATHEDR.
ECHELLE 1 10

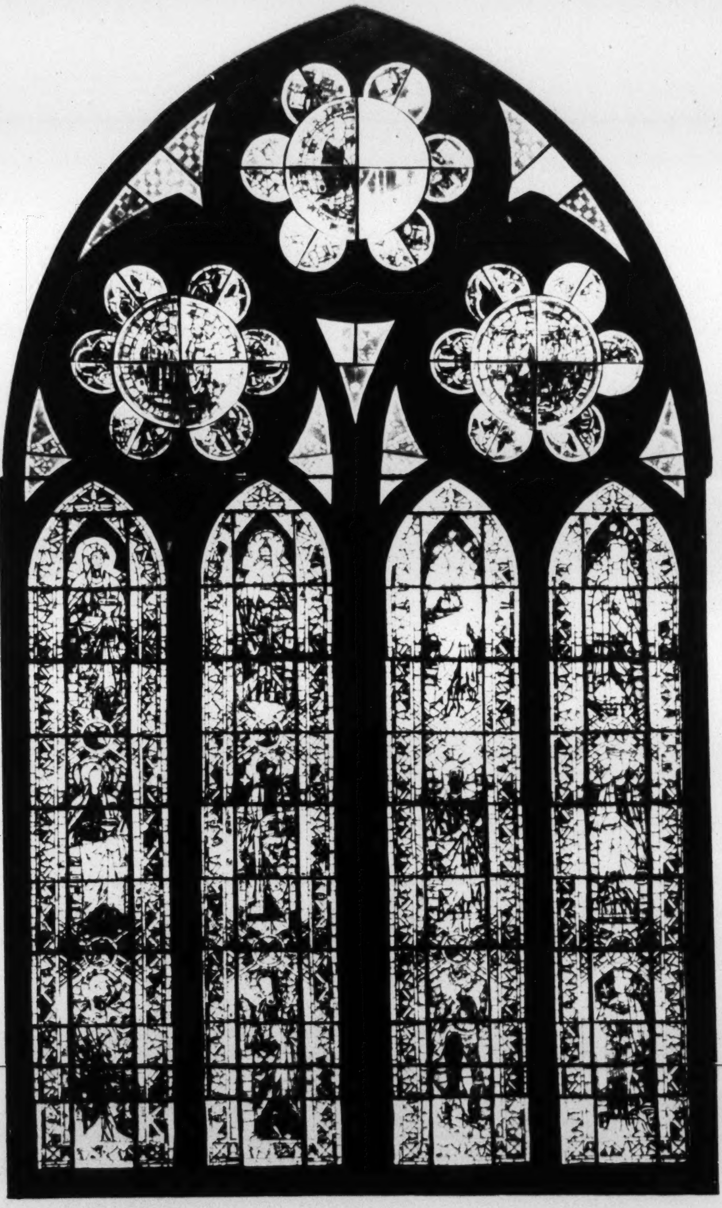
BAIE D5 APR



95

95
Troyes Cathedral: grisaille. Photomontage

557

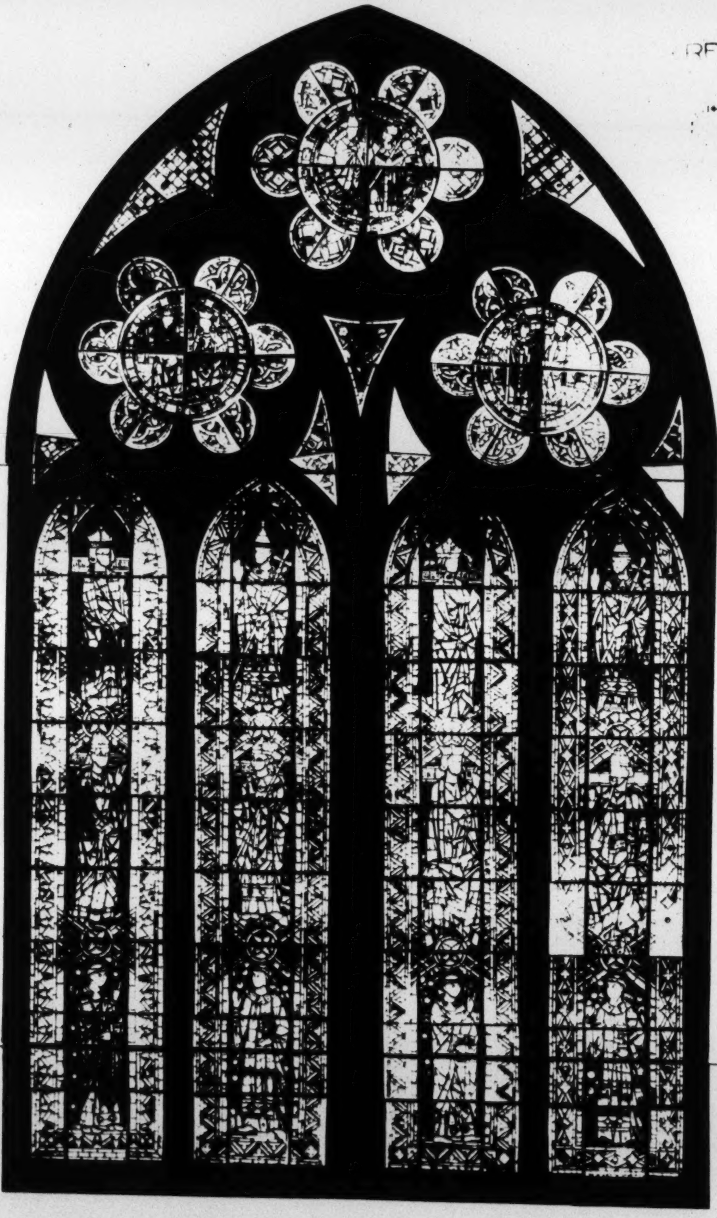


96

96

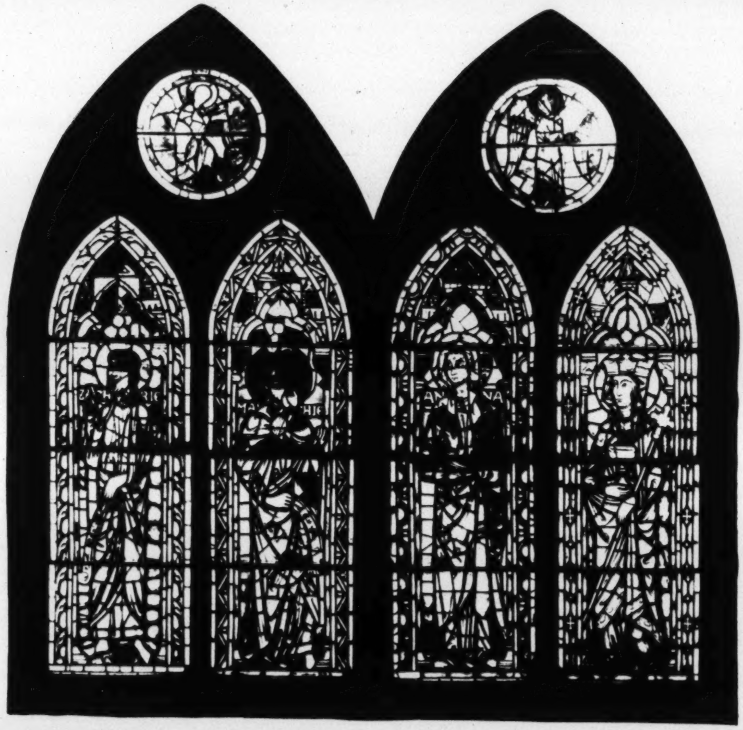
Troyes Cathedral: Wise and Foolish Virgins window (south choir clerestory). Photomontage.
Figures framed in medallions.

REST



97

97
Troyes Cathedral: Bishops and Kings window.
(North choir clerestory). Photomontage.

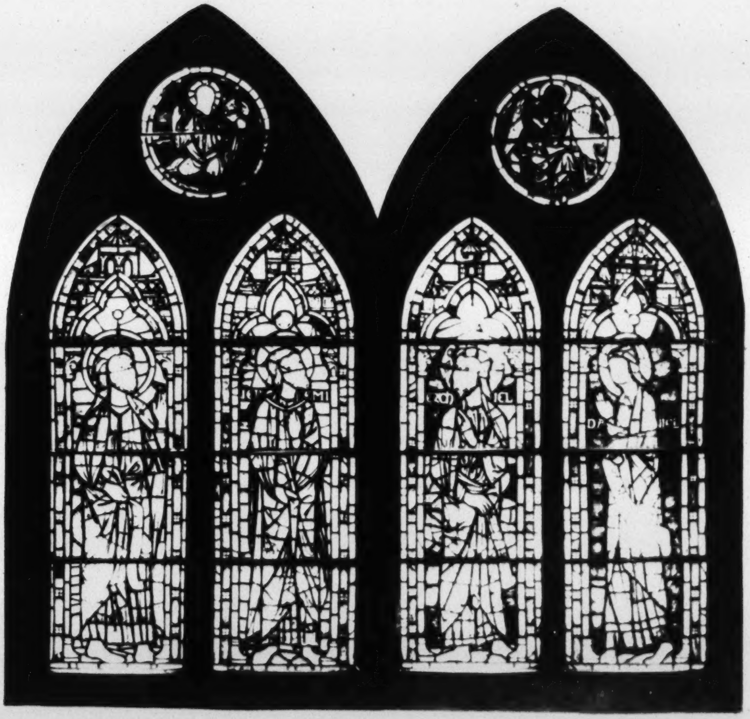


98
**Troyes Cathedral: south apse triforium.
Photomontage.**

560

APR.REST

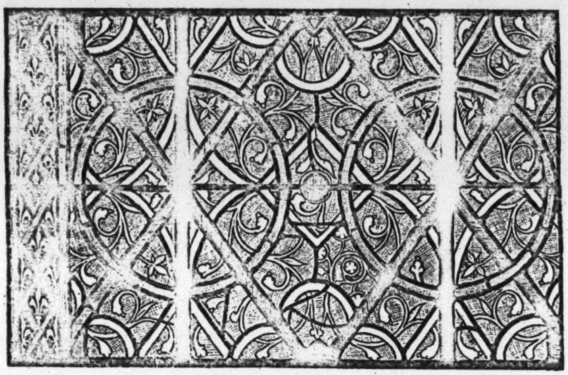
FENETRE **P**
PROPHETES



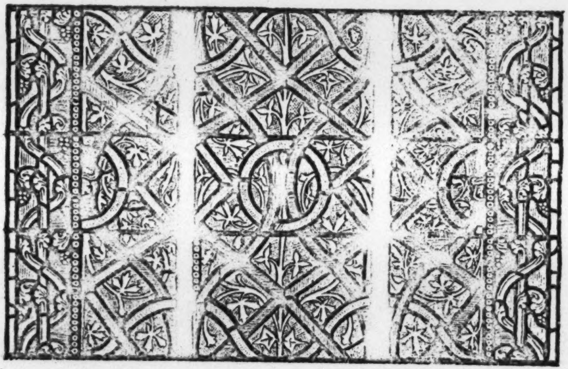
99

99
Troyes Cathedral: axial triforium bay.
Photomontage.

561

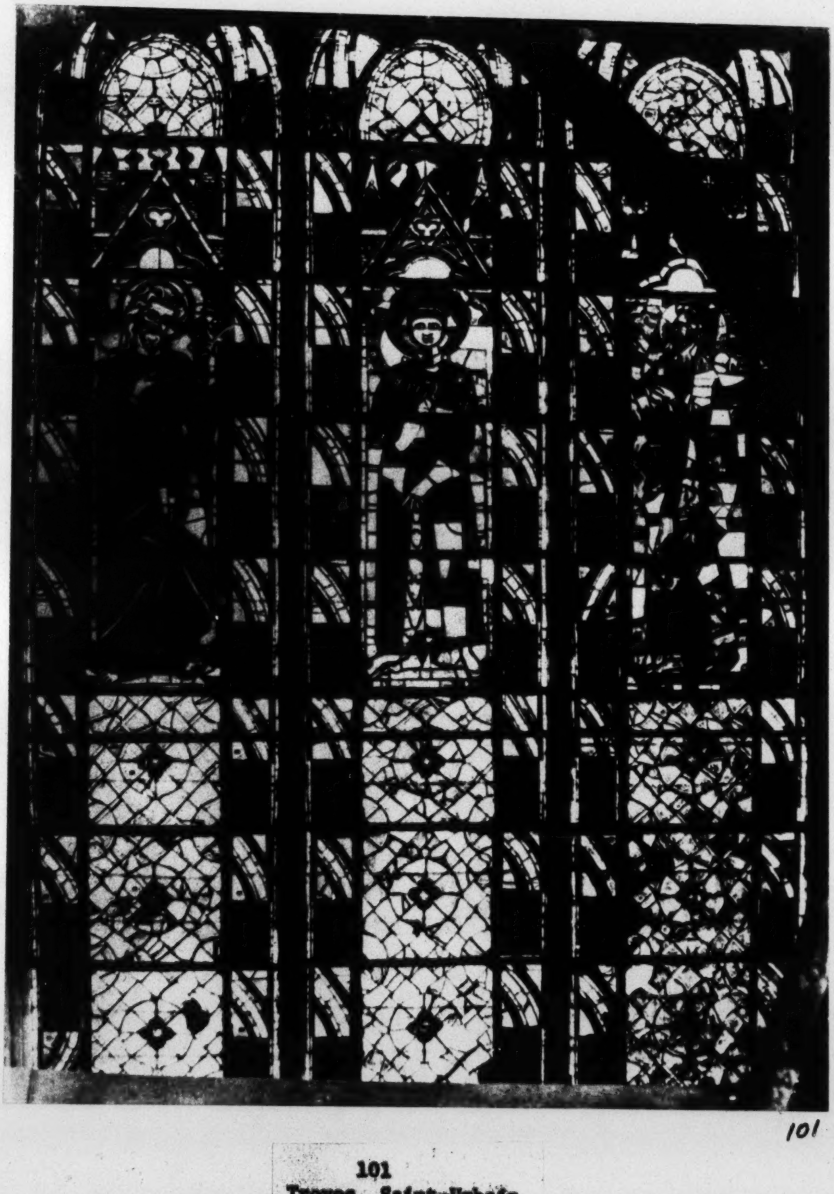


143. Decorated Grisaille, S. Urbain, Troyes.



144. Decorated Grisaille, S. Urbain, Troyes.

100
Troyes, St. Urbain: grisailles
(from Lewis Day, 1909 ed.)



101

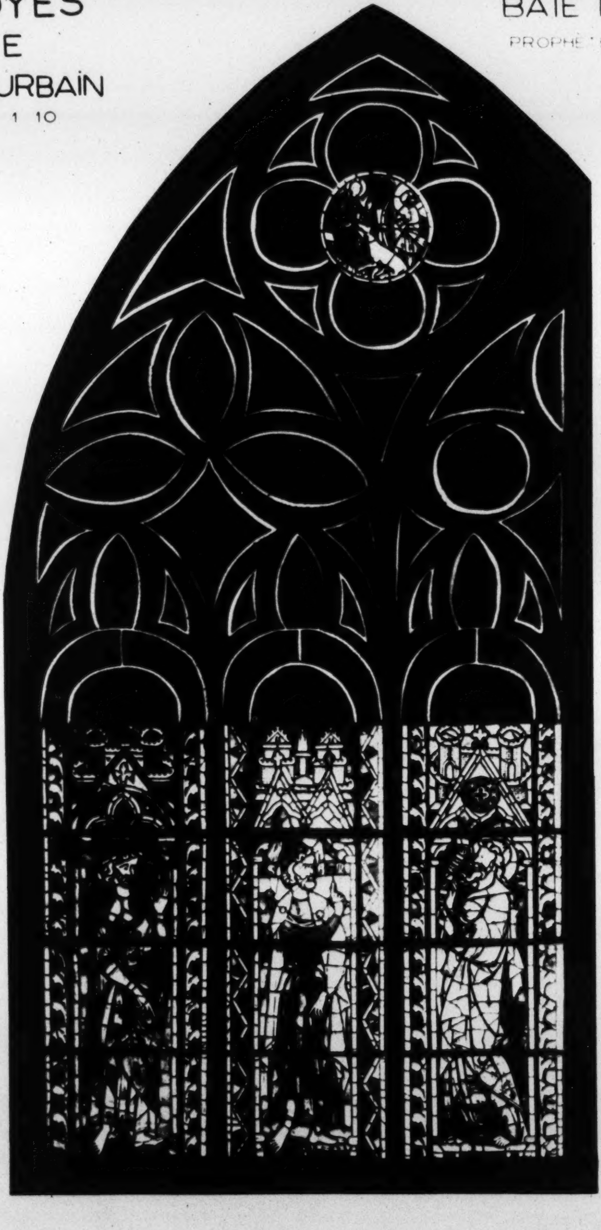
101
Troyes, Saint-Urbain
Clerestory.

563

563

TROYES
AUBE
EGL.ST.URBAIN
ECHELLE 1 10

BAIE F APR
PROPHÈTES

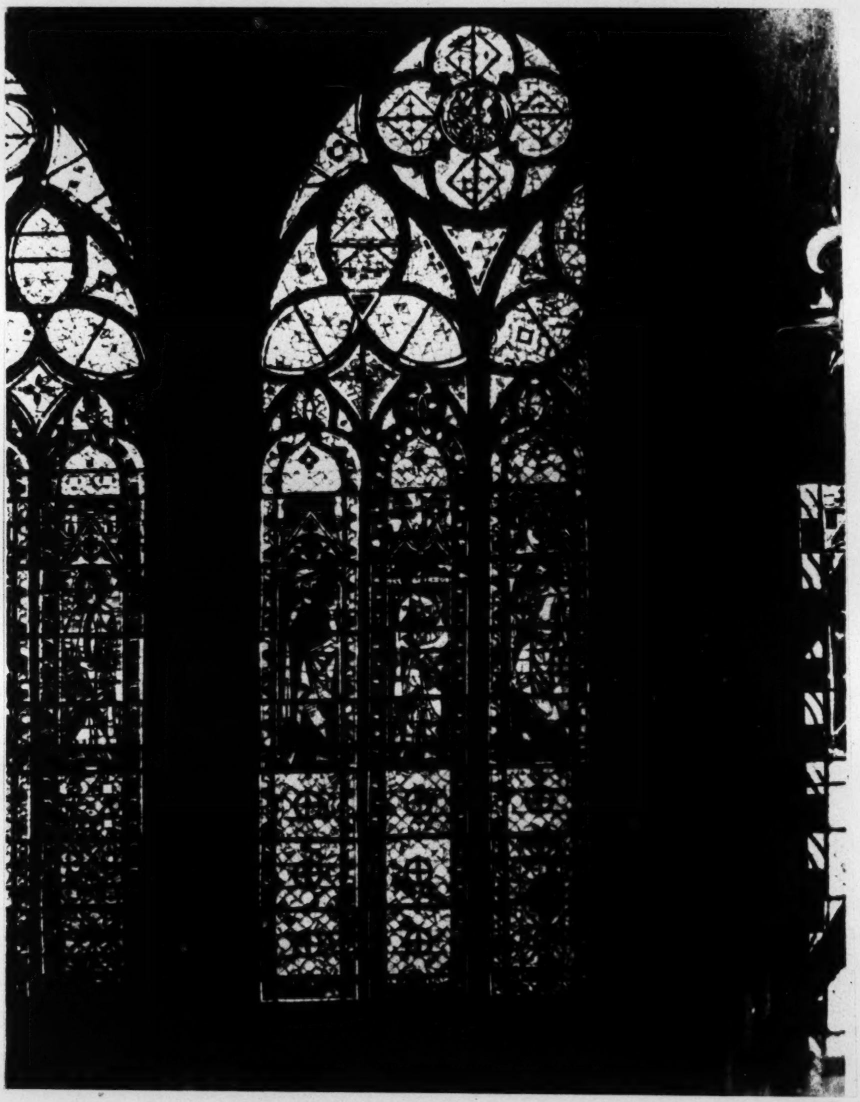


102

102

102
Troyes, Saint-Urbain
Photomontage. Clerestory.

564



103

103
Troyes, Saint-Urbain
Clerestory

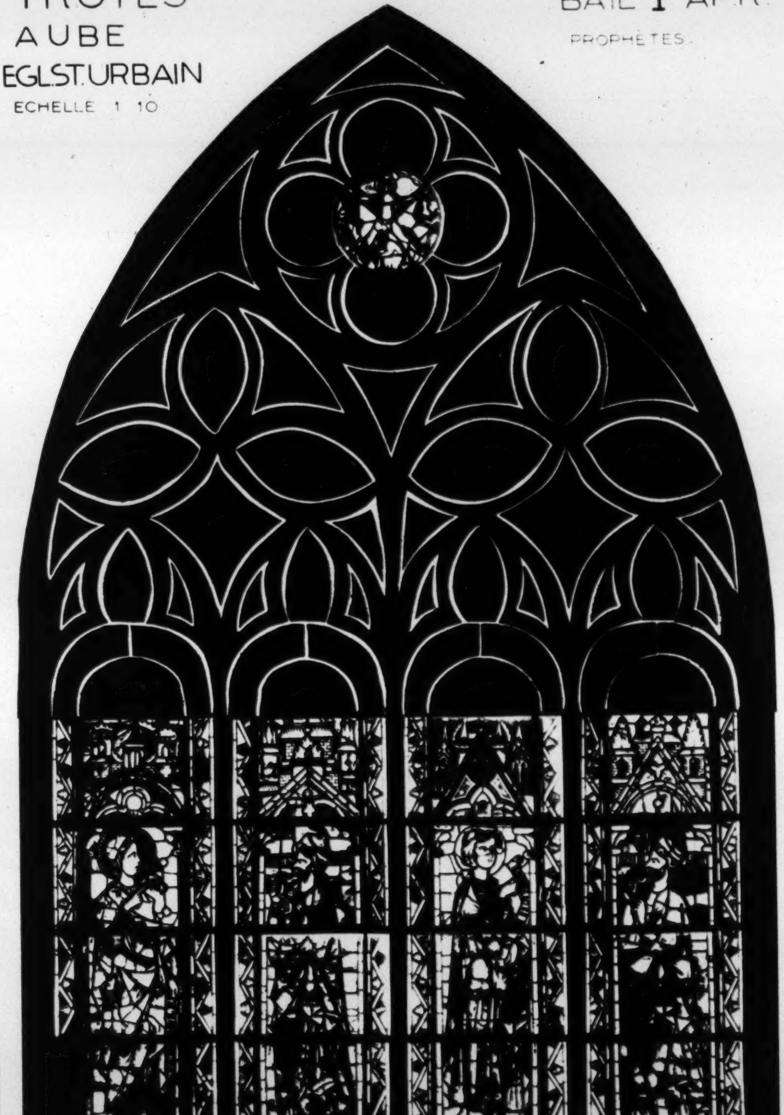
565

565

TROYES
AUBE
EGL.ST.URBAIN
ECHELLE 1 10

BAIE I APR

PROPHÈTES



104

104
Troyes, Saint-Urbain
Photomontage. Clerestory.

566

105a

566

105

566

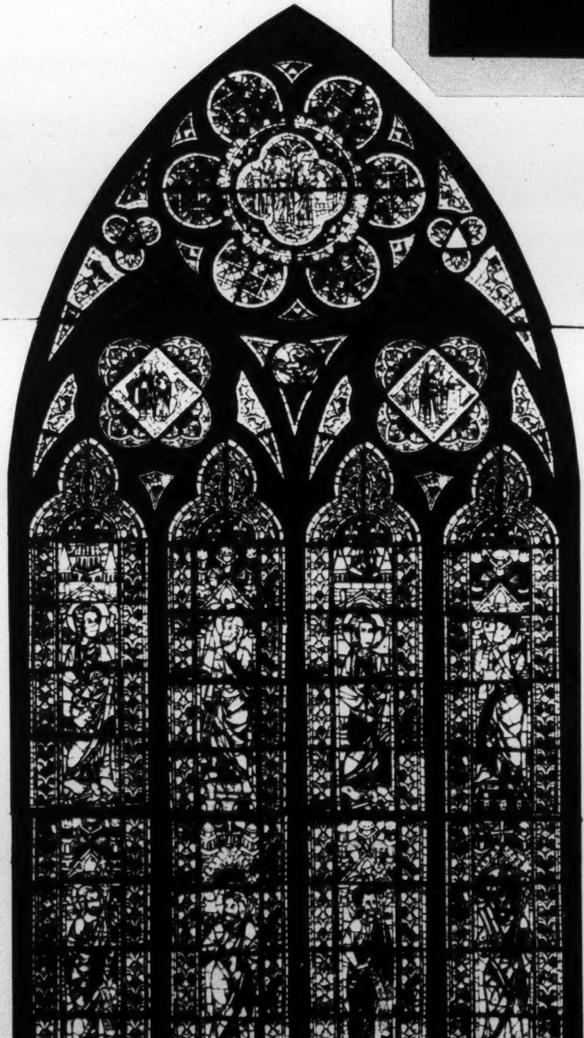
Le Mans Cathedral: Bay A (North Clerestory. Vitrail du Baptême du defensor.)

Notice the use of white.

LE MANS

CA

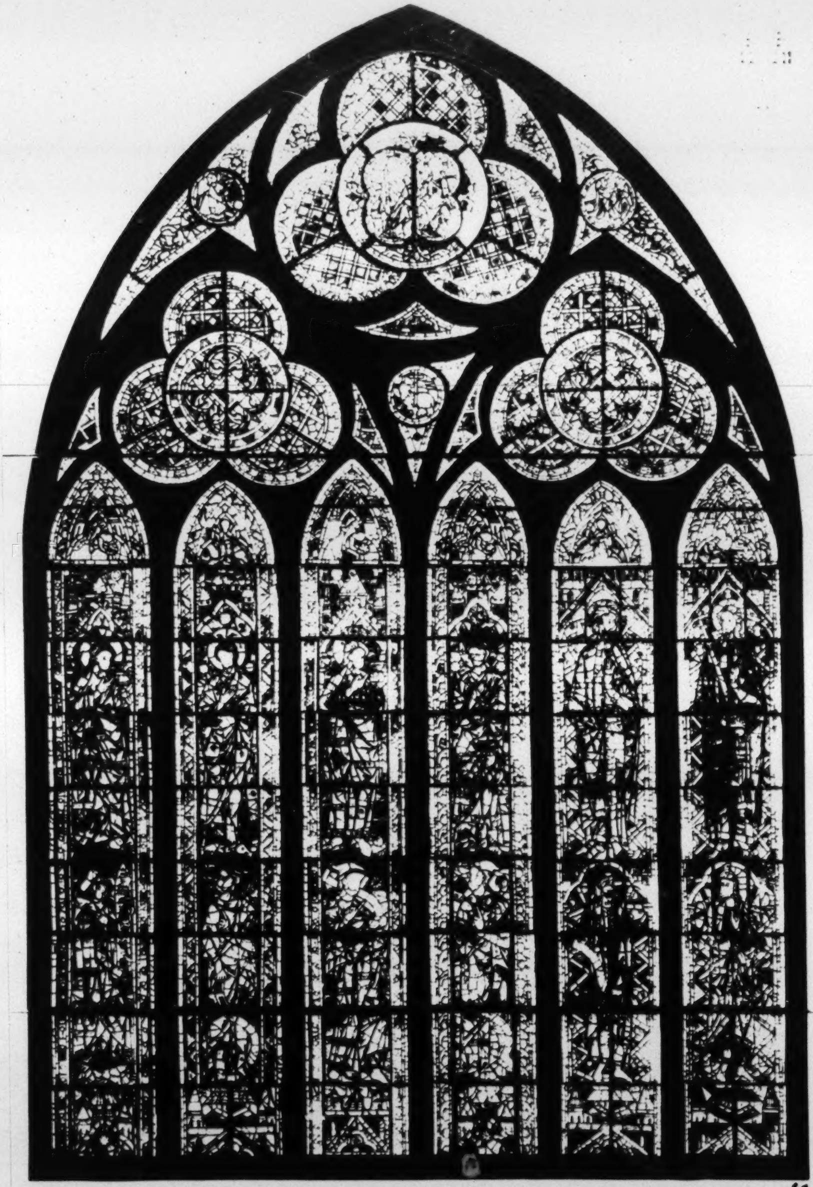
105a



105b

LE MANS

B.

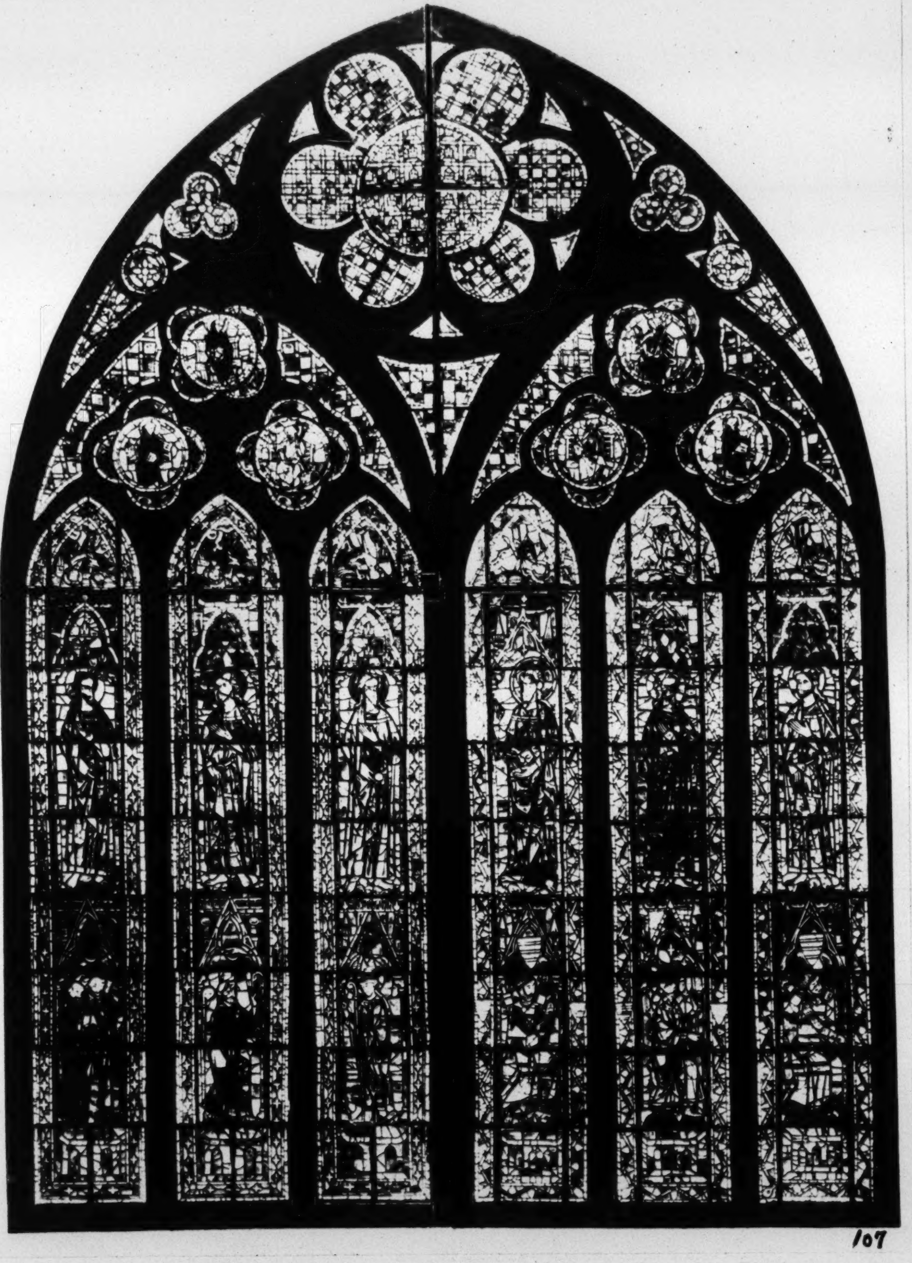


106

106

Le Mans Cathedral: Bay B (north clerestory)
Vitrail de Jean de Fresnay.

568



107

107
Le Mans Cathedral: Bay C (north clerestory)
Vitrail de la couture des cormes.

569

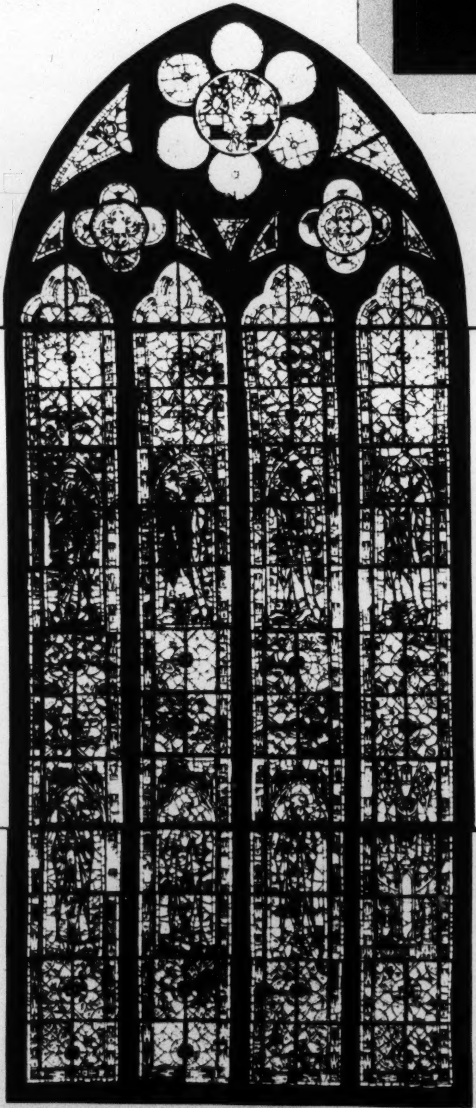
569

569

108a

108
Tours Cathedral: Bay 5
Canons of Loches
South Clerestory

TOURS
IND L
CATHEDRALE



108b

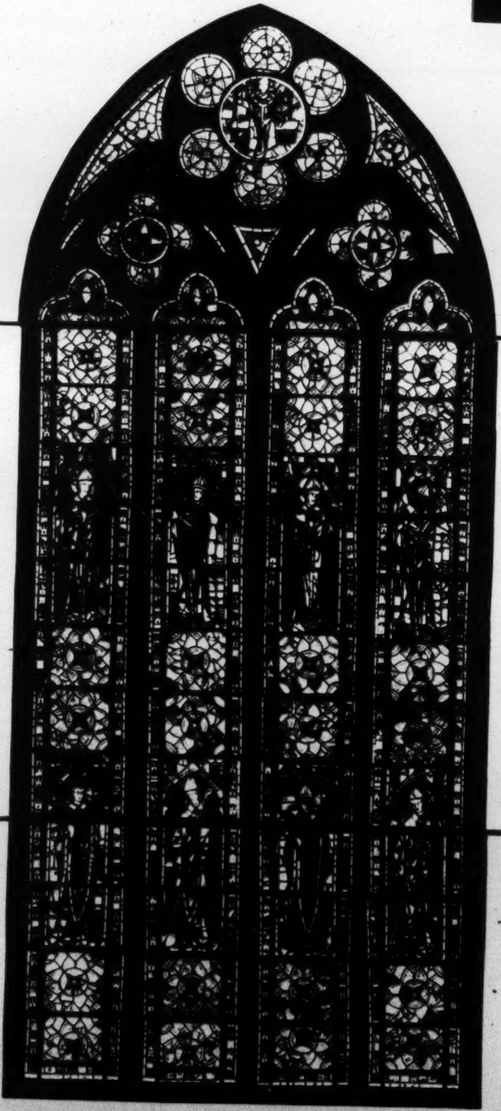
570

570

109
Tours Cathedral: Bay 11 (north clerestory)
Eight Bishops.

TOURS
IND. L
CATHEDRALE

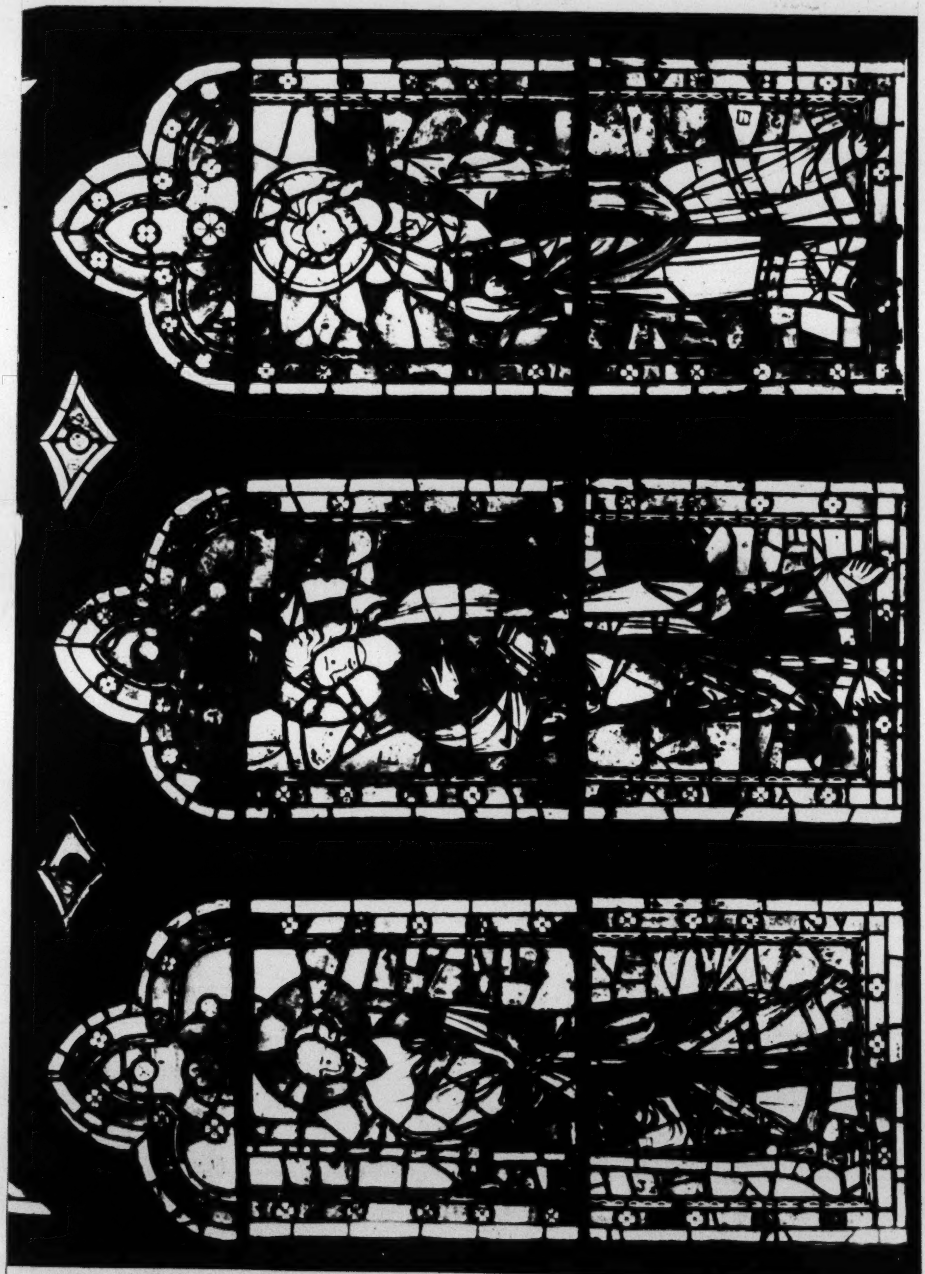
109a



109b

571

110



110
Tours Cathedral: apse triforium, Bay 1 (southeasternmost)
(Outer two figures interchanged in photomontage.)

572

111
Tours Cathedral: Bays 2 (left) and 1

572

112
Tours Cathedral: Bay 1
(apse triforium)

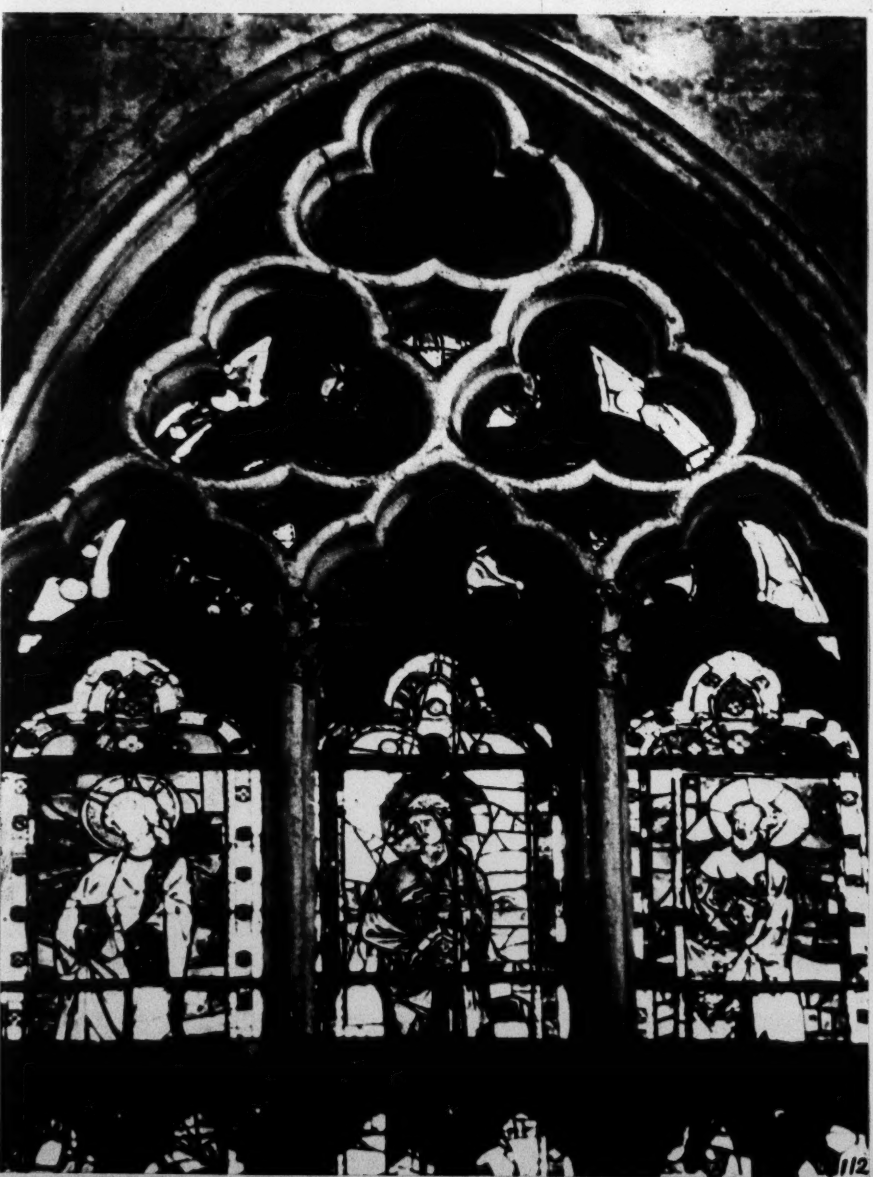
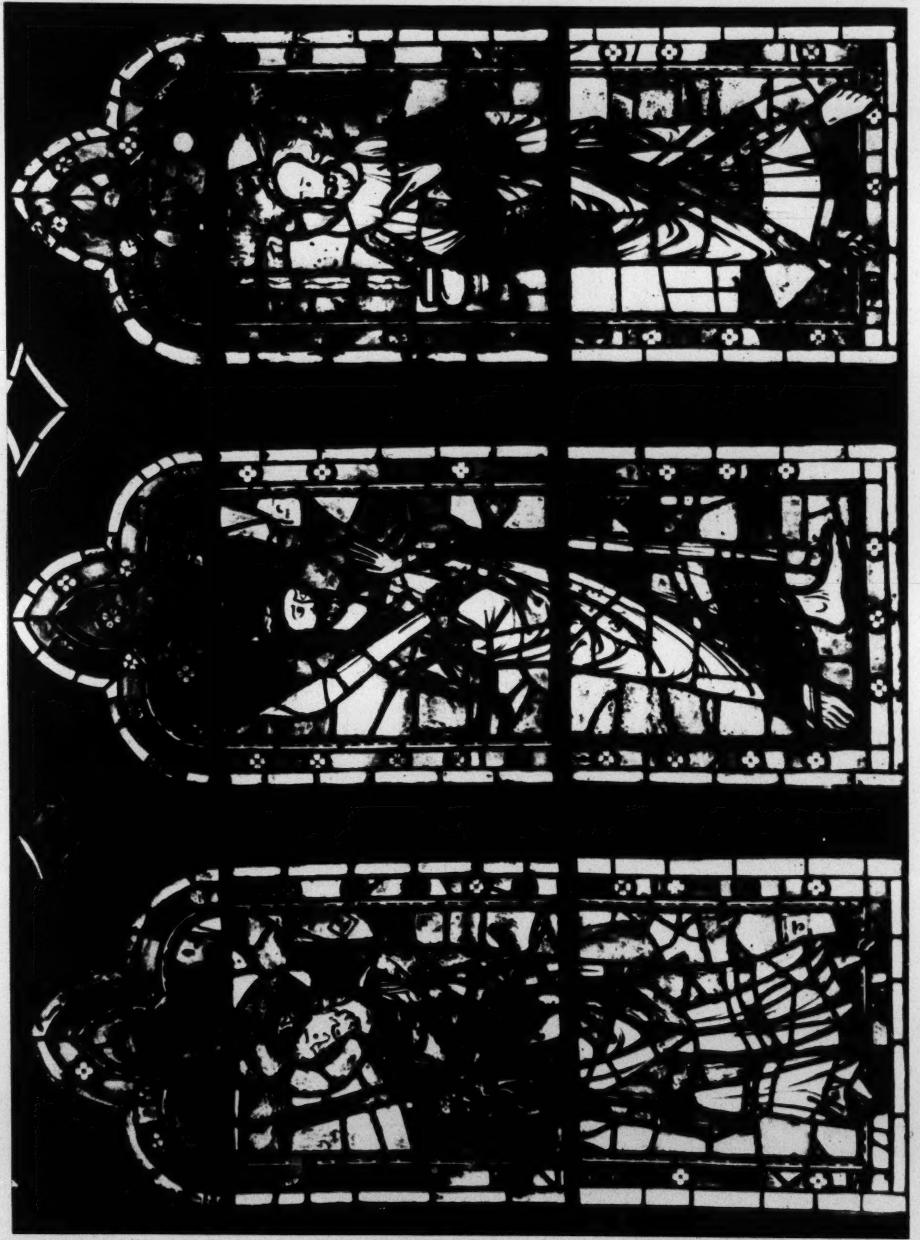


Photo: Courtauld Institute

112

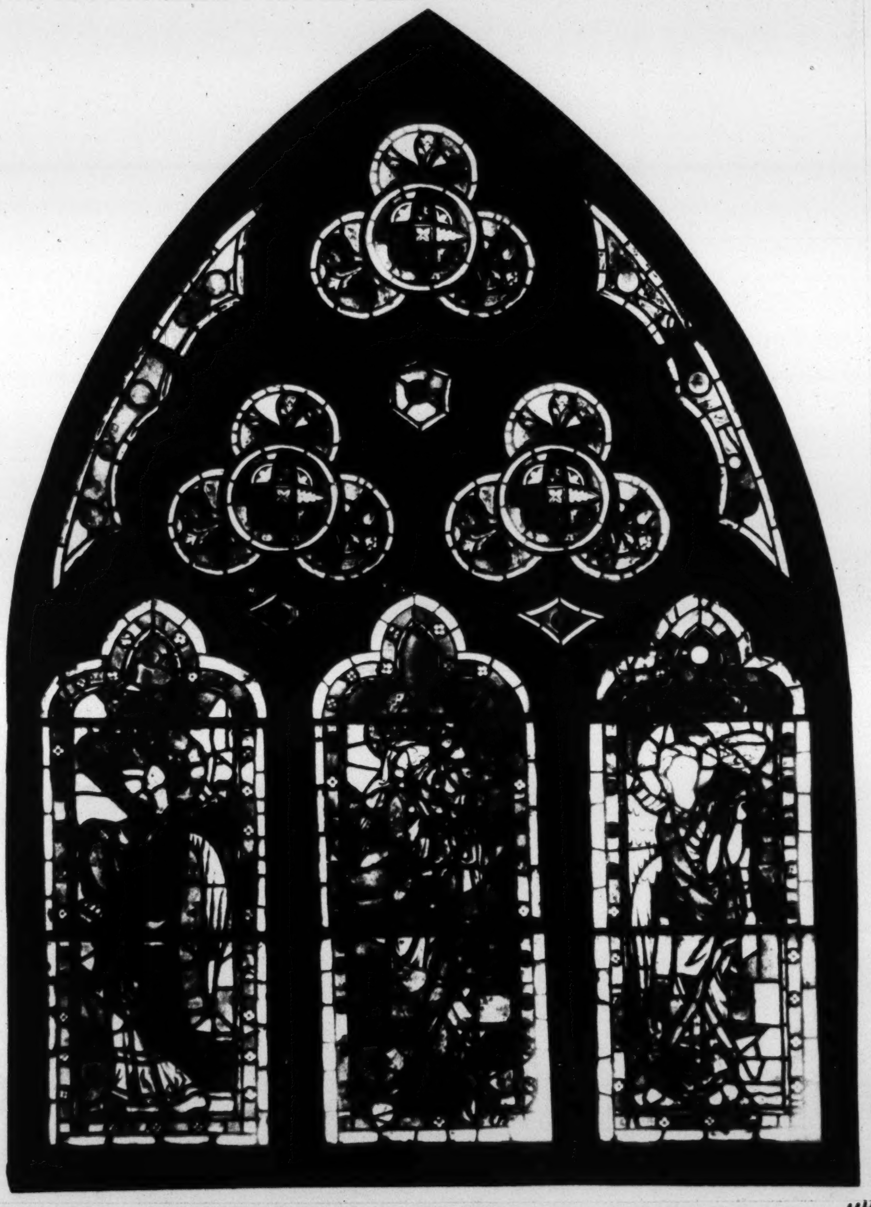
573

113



113
Tours Cathedral: apse triforium, Bay 2 (south of axial)
(Outer two figures interchanged in photomontage)

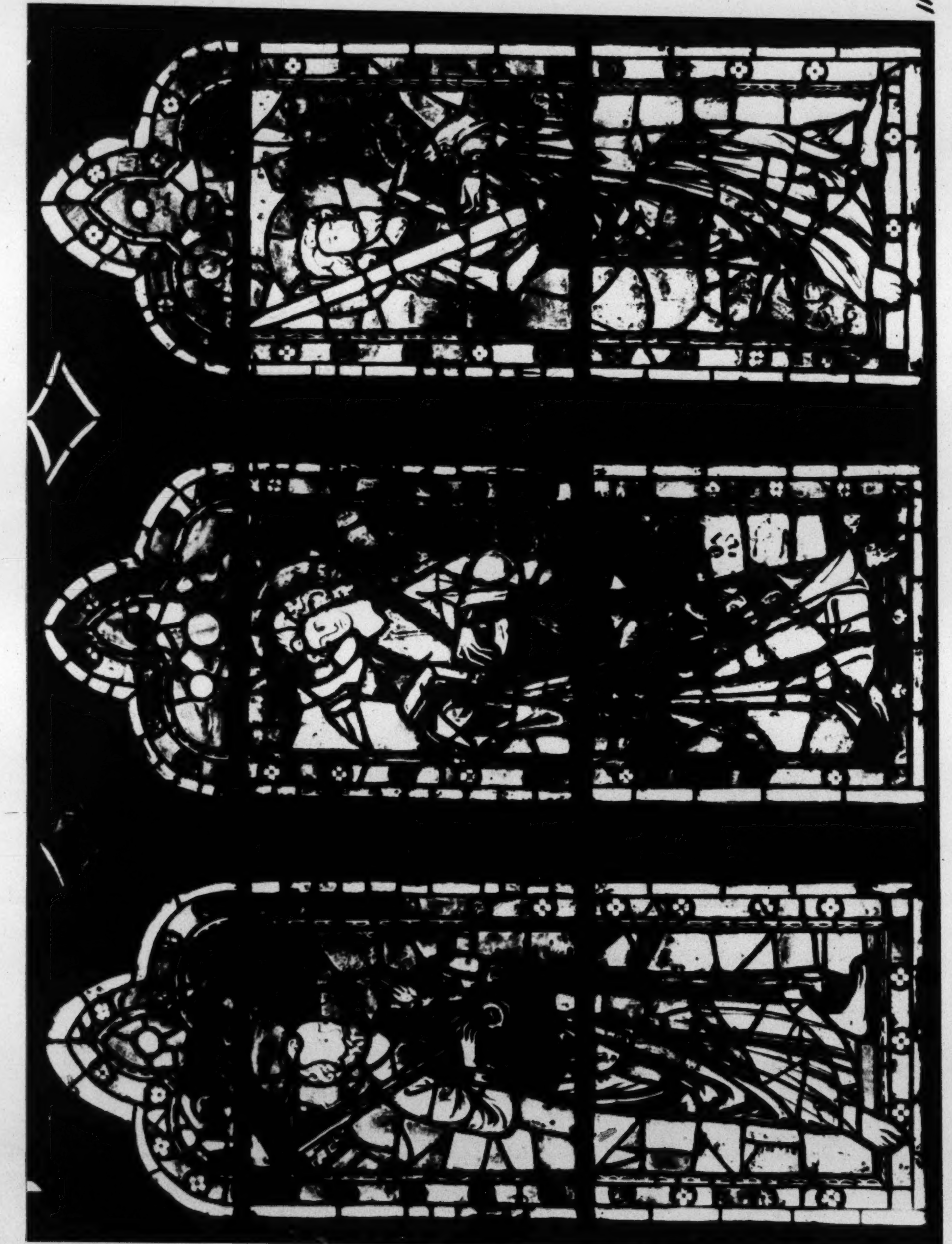
574



114

114
Tours Cathedral: apse triforium, Bay 3 (axial)

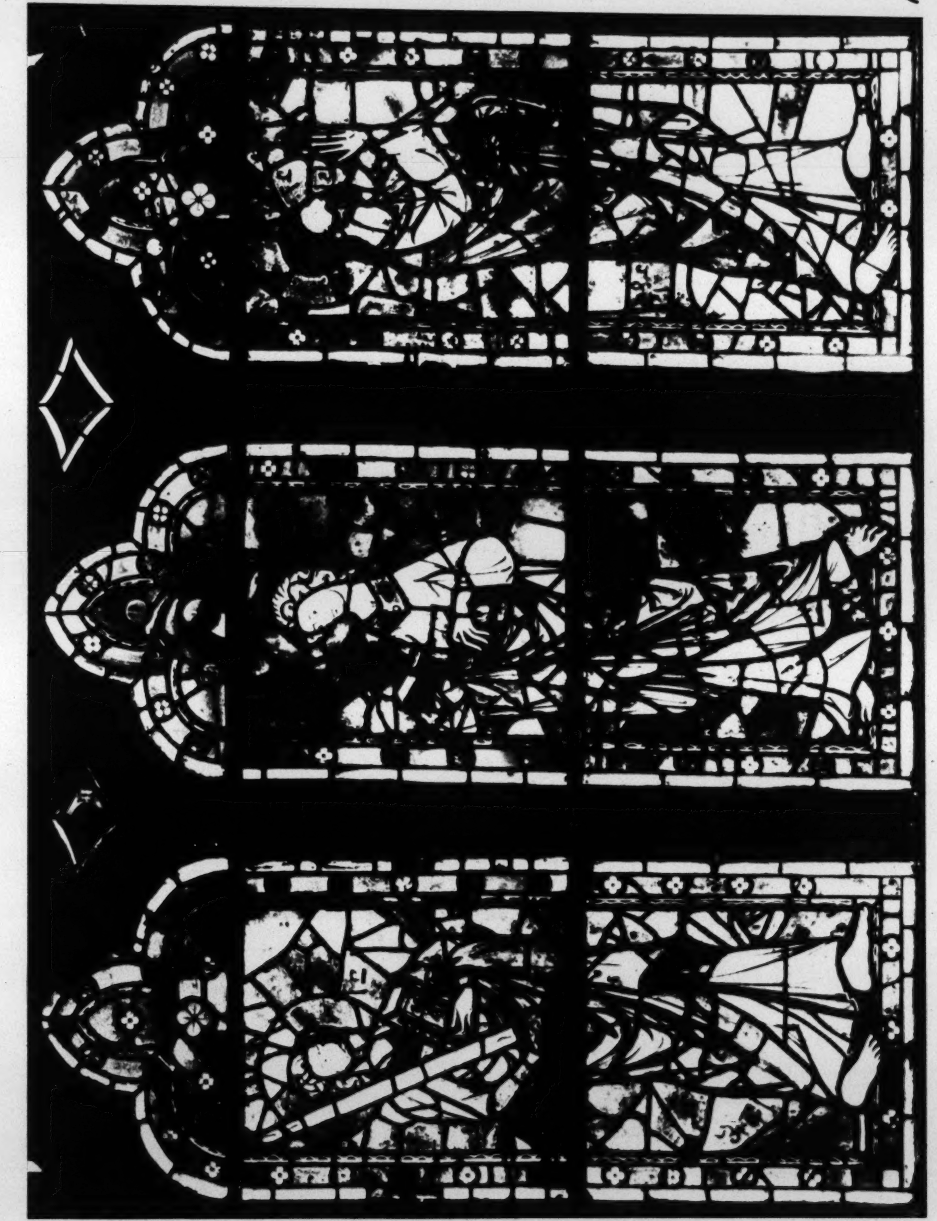
115



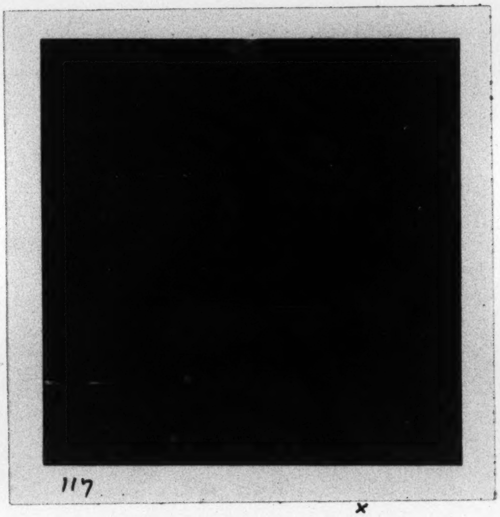
115
Tours Cathedral: apse triforium, Bay 4 (north of axial)
(Outer two figures interchanged in photomontage)

576

116

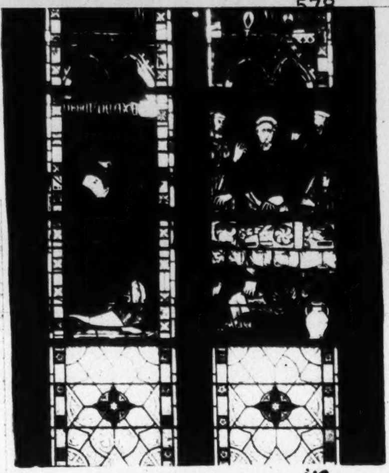


116
Tours Cathedral: apse triforium, Bay 5 (northeasternmost)
(Outer two figures interchanged in photomontage)

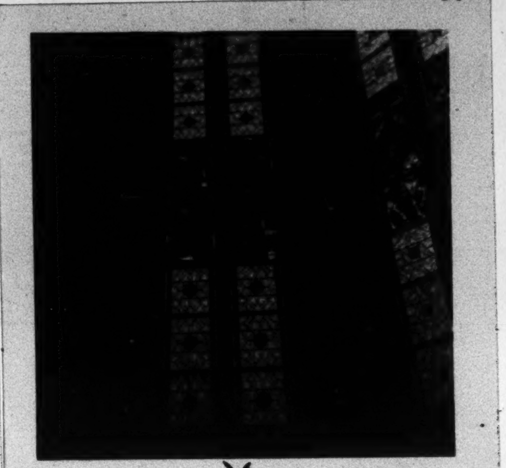


117
Tours Cathedral: Bay 5, apse triforium (right)

Photo: Jean Lafond



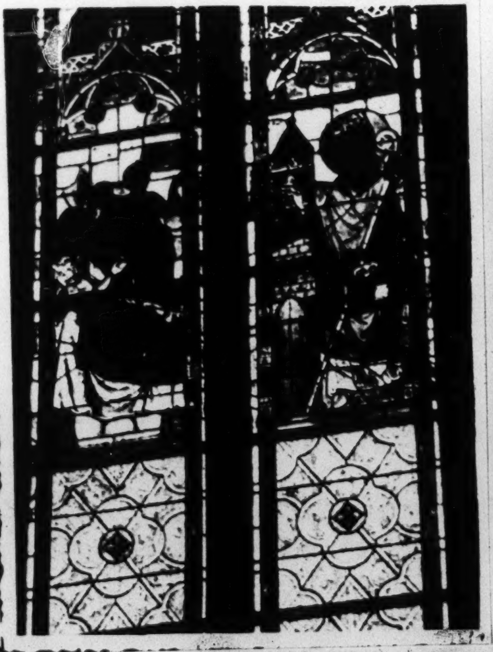
118a



118 b X

118
Sées Cathedral: St. Mary Magdalene chapel
(north)

Photo: Jean Lafond



119a

X

119b

119
Sées Cathedral: St. Nicholas chapel
(north of axial)

120

Sées Cathedral: grisaille

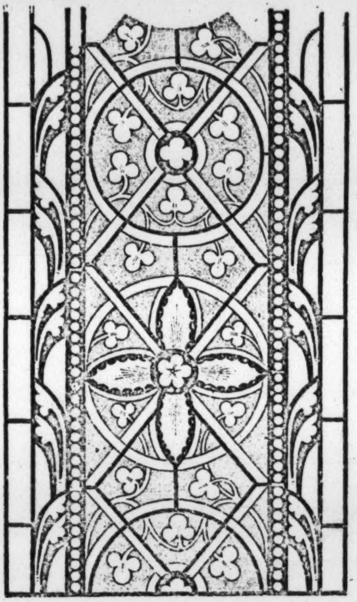
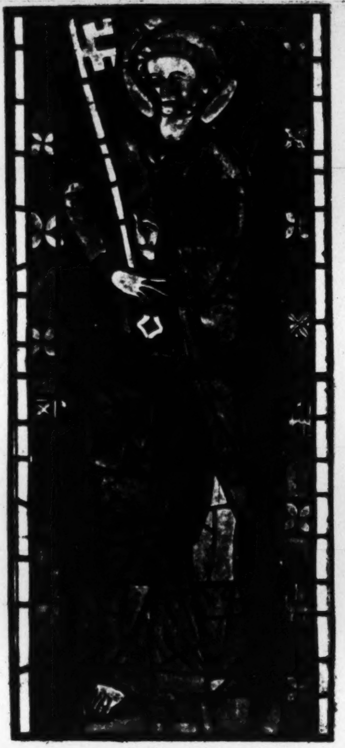


Fig. 35. — XIVe siècle. Grisaille de Séez (Orne). (48 c. sur 79 c.)

FROM OTTIN P.37

121

Victoria and Albert Museum, London: panel from Sées Cathedral: St. Peter.



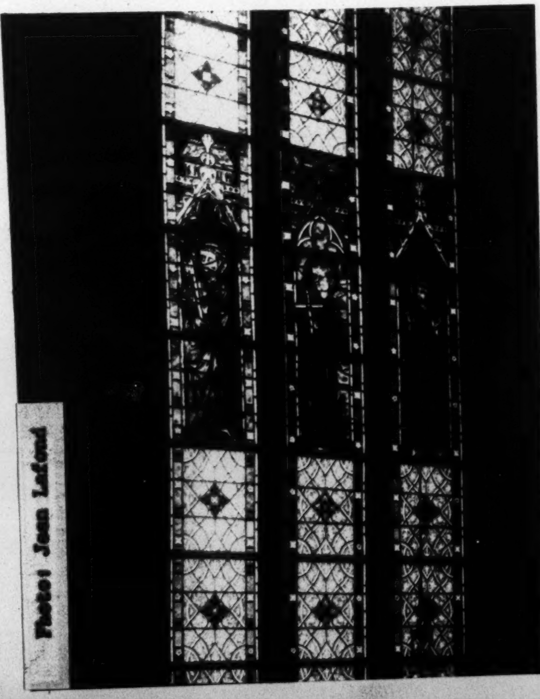


Photo: Jean Lafond

122

Sées Cathedral: axial chapel Sts. Peter and Andrew (modern St. Francis on right)

122

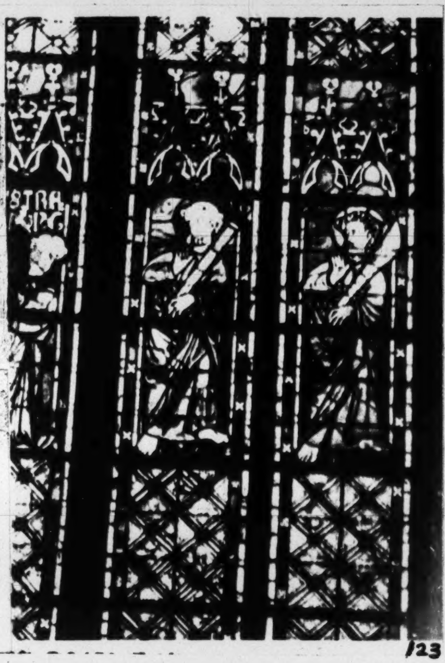


Photo: Jean Lafond

123

123
Bay 1 (northwesternmost)

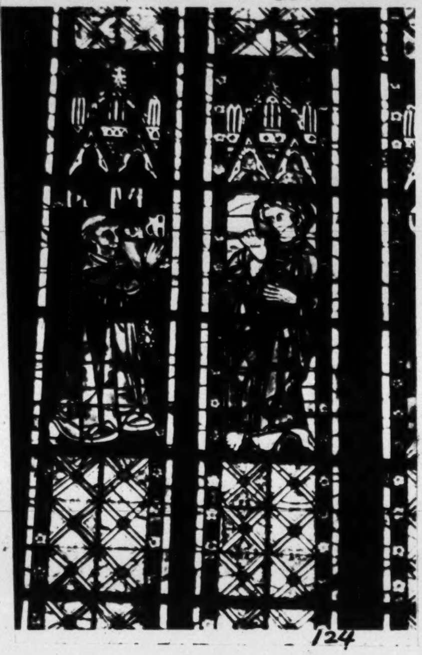


Photo: Jean Lafond

124

124
Bay 2 (north)

123 - 126
Sées cathedral: choir clerestories

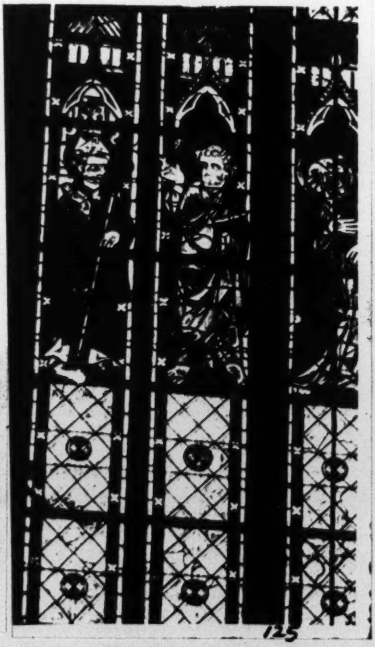
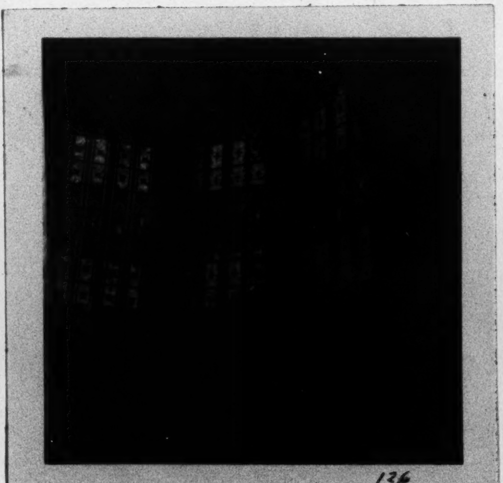


Photo: Jean Lafond

125

125
Bay 3 (northwesternmost of apse)



126

126
Bays 4, 5 (axial), 6.

581

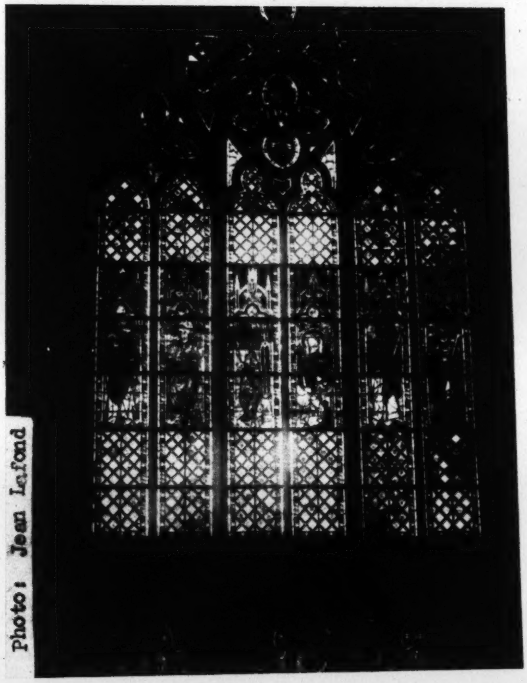


Photo: Jean Lafond

127

127
Sées Cathedral: choir clerestory, Bay 9

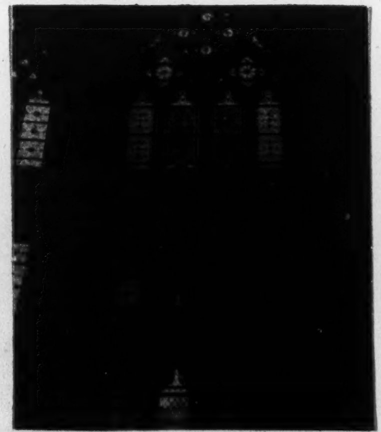
582

582

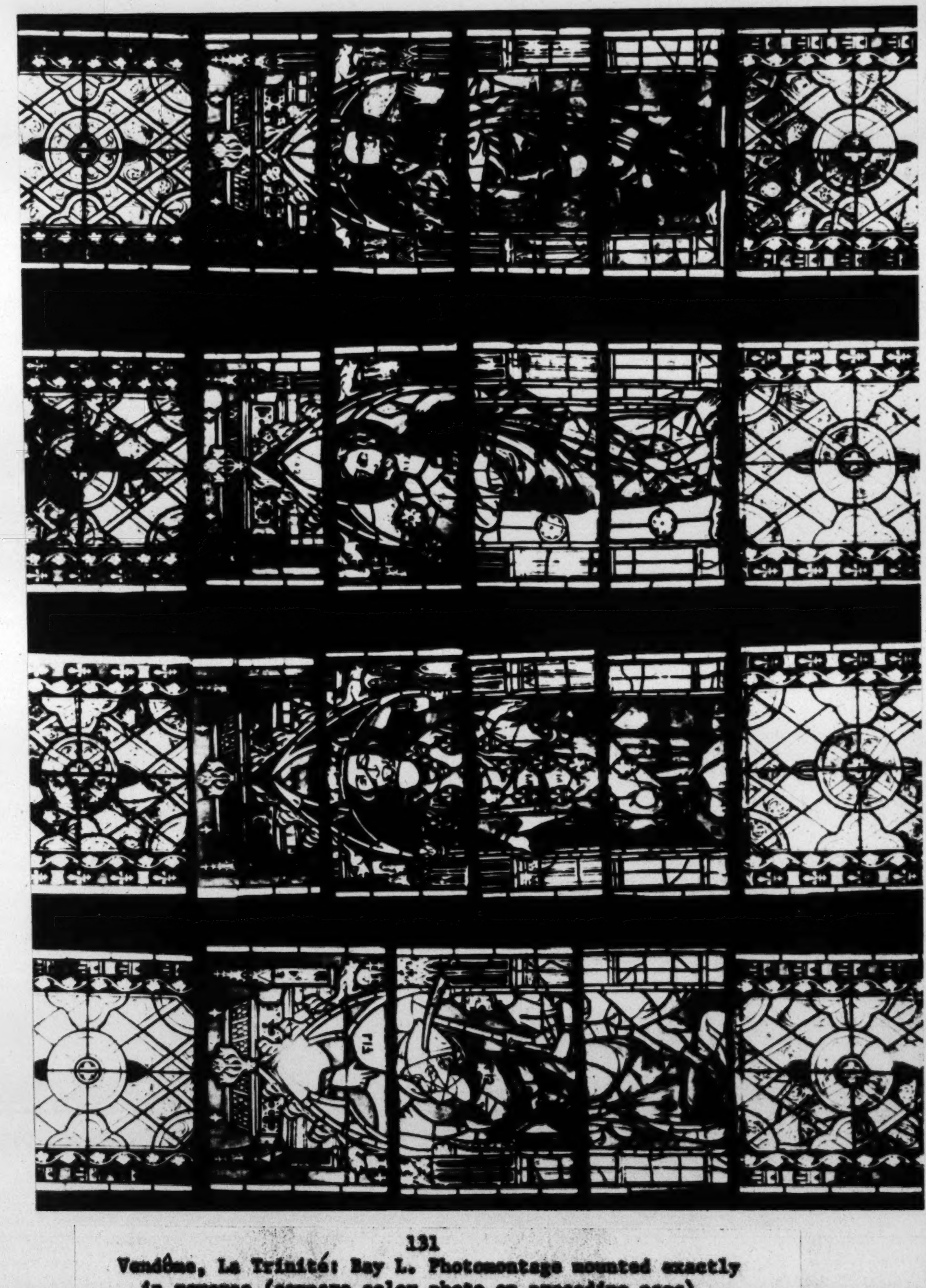
128 - 130
Vendôme, La Trinité: choir clerestory

128
Bay I (axial), J.

129
Bay K



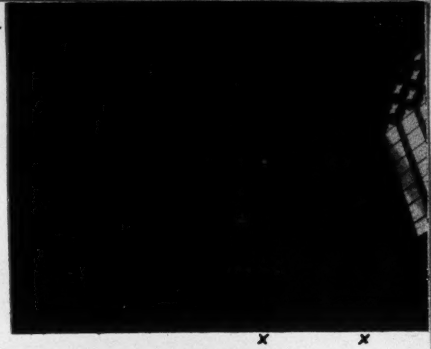
130
Bay L



131

Vendôme, La Trinité: Bay L. Photomontage mounted exactly in reverse (compare color photo on preceding page)

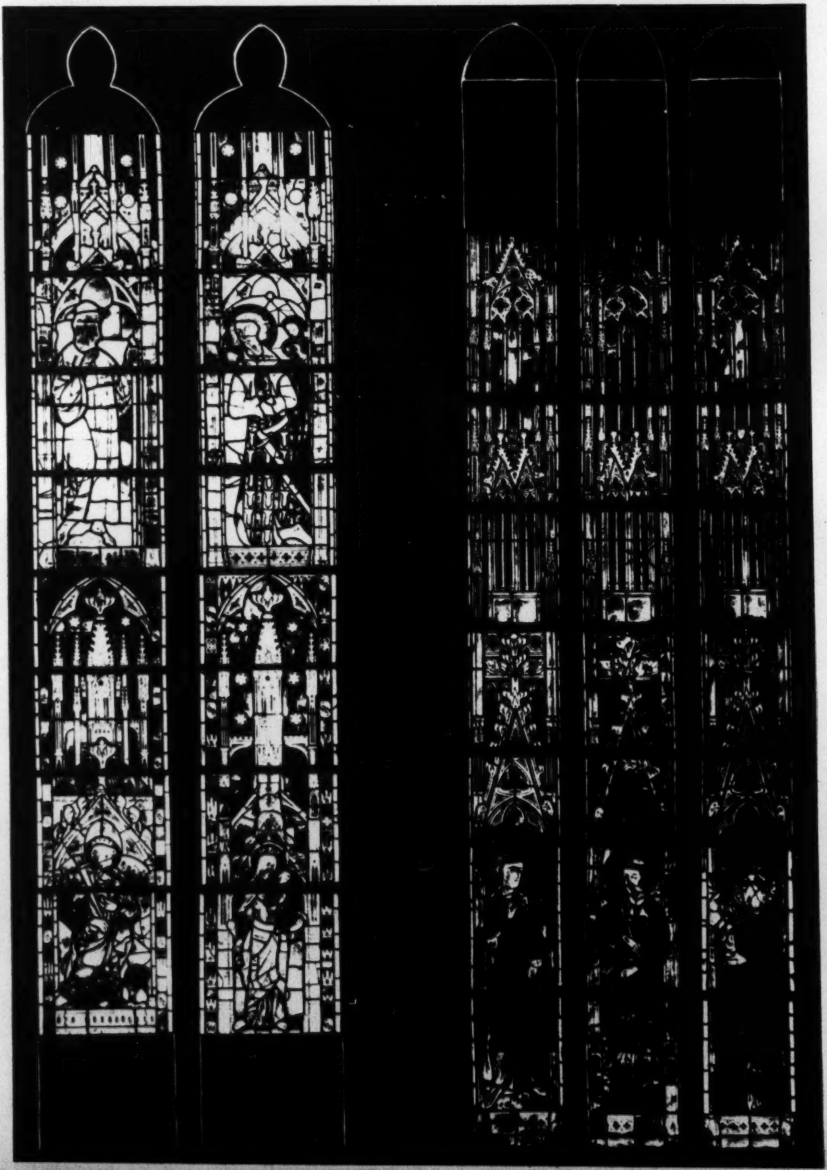
132a



x x

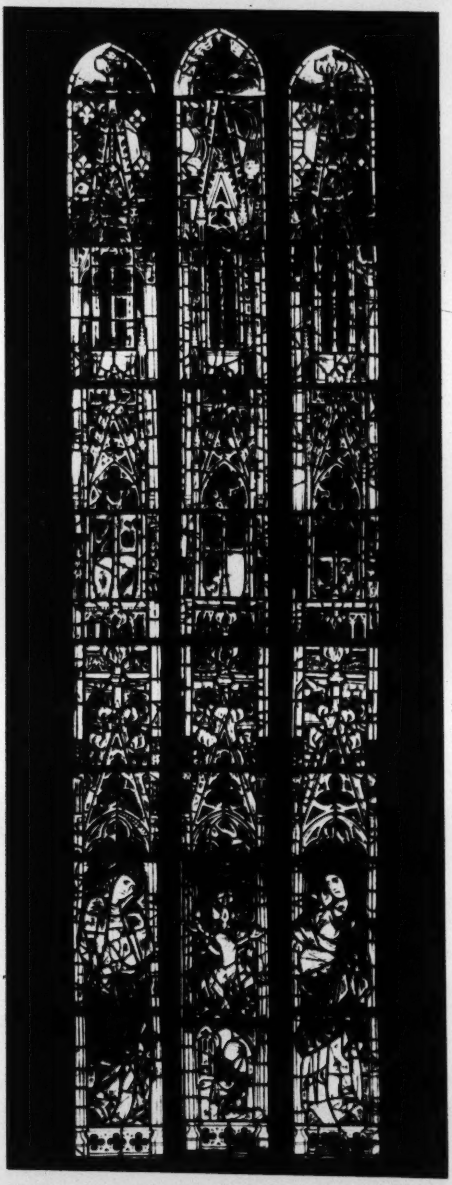
132

Evron: clerestory of south apse, Bay 112 (left) and Bay 111.



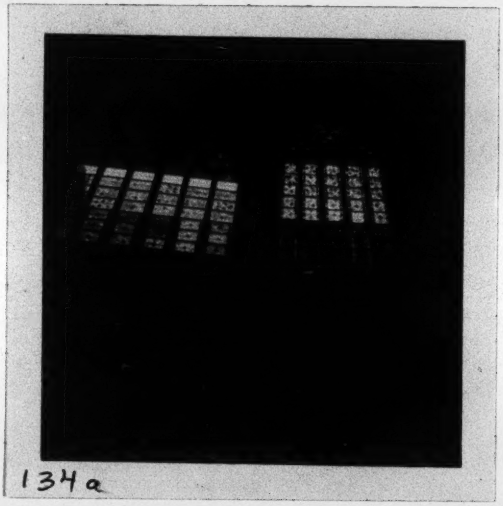
132b

585

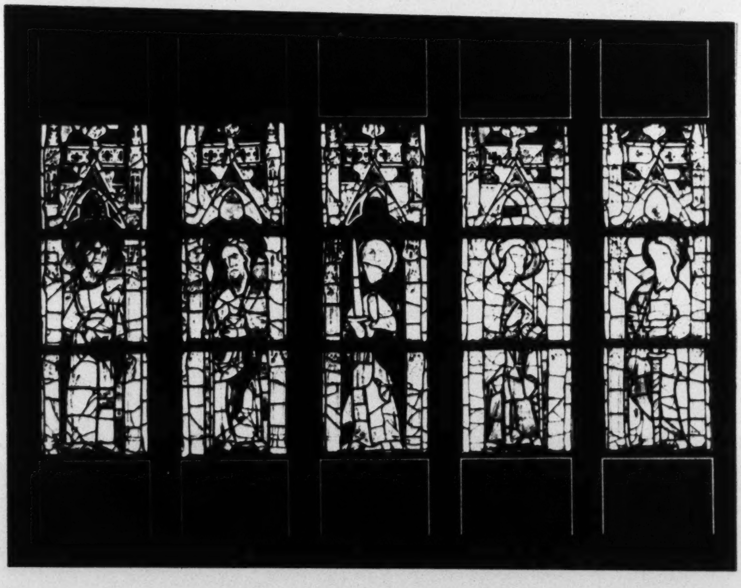


133

133
Evron: Bay 113 (axial) clerestory



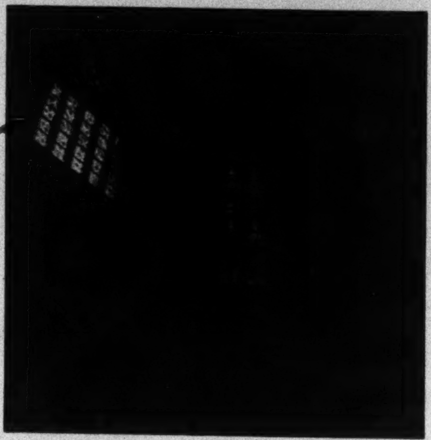
134a



134b

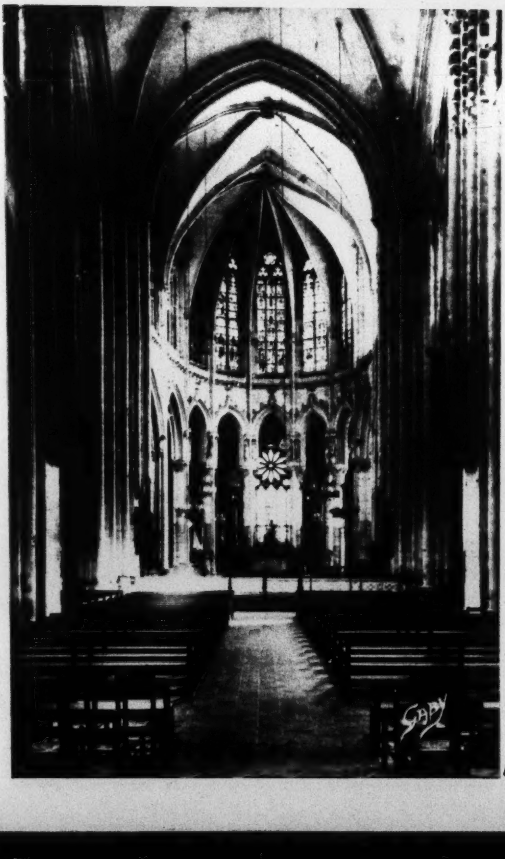
134

Evron: Bay 116 (north choir clerestory)



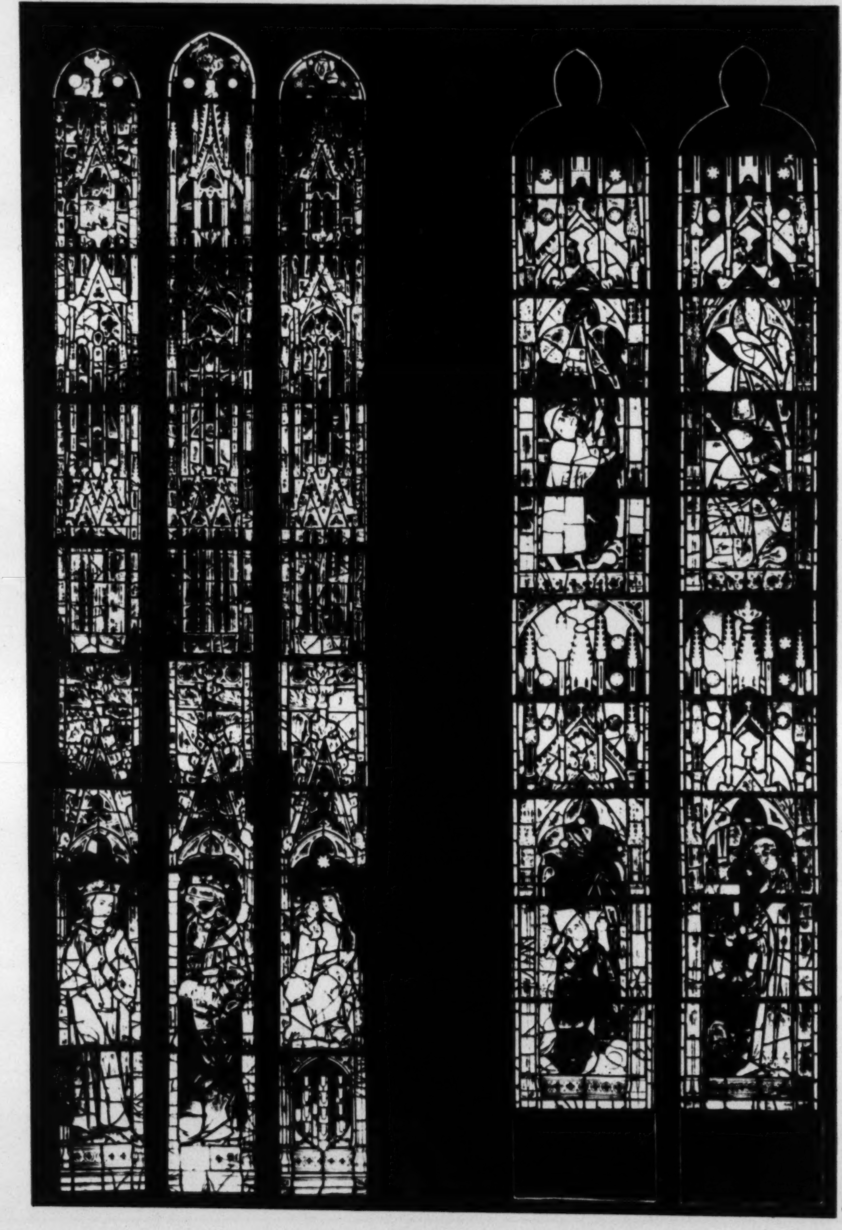
135a 116 115 114 113 112

135 a-b
Evron: choir clerestory



135b

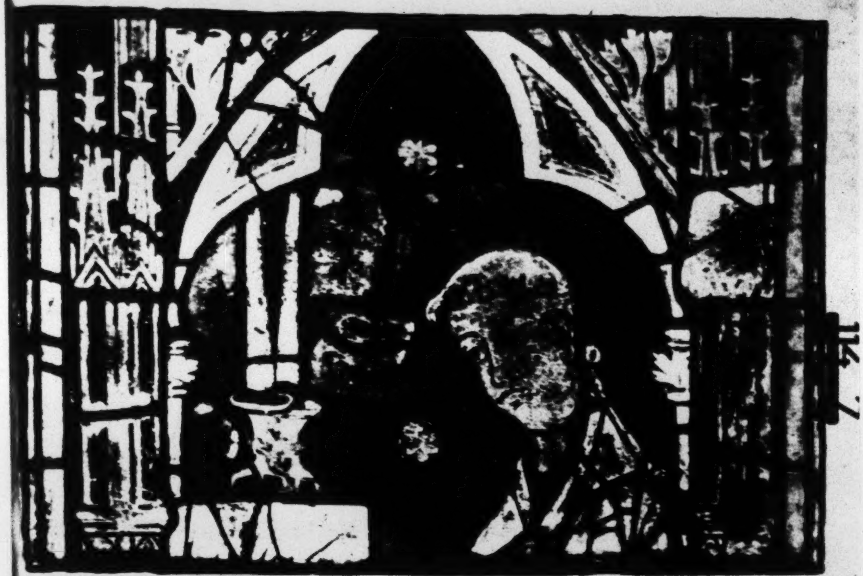
588



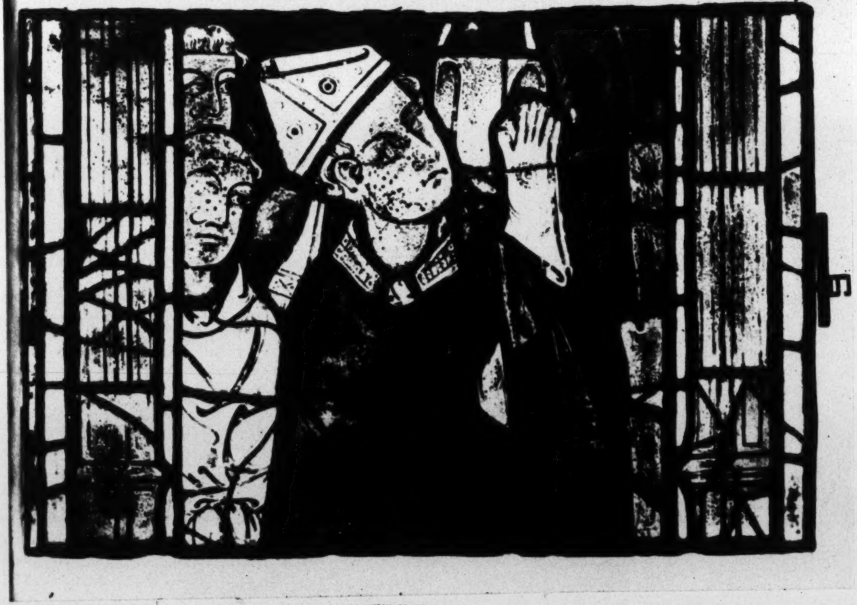
136

136
Evron: Bay 115 (left) and Bay 114
choir clerestory

137a

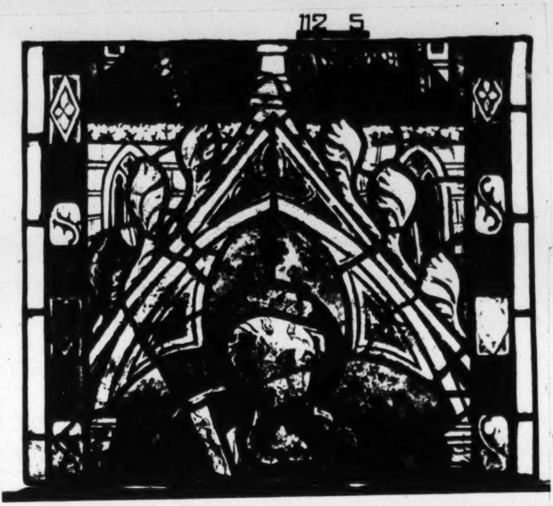


137b



137
Evron: details of choir clerestory
Bay 114 (lower scenes)

Note facial features, canopy and frame

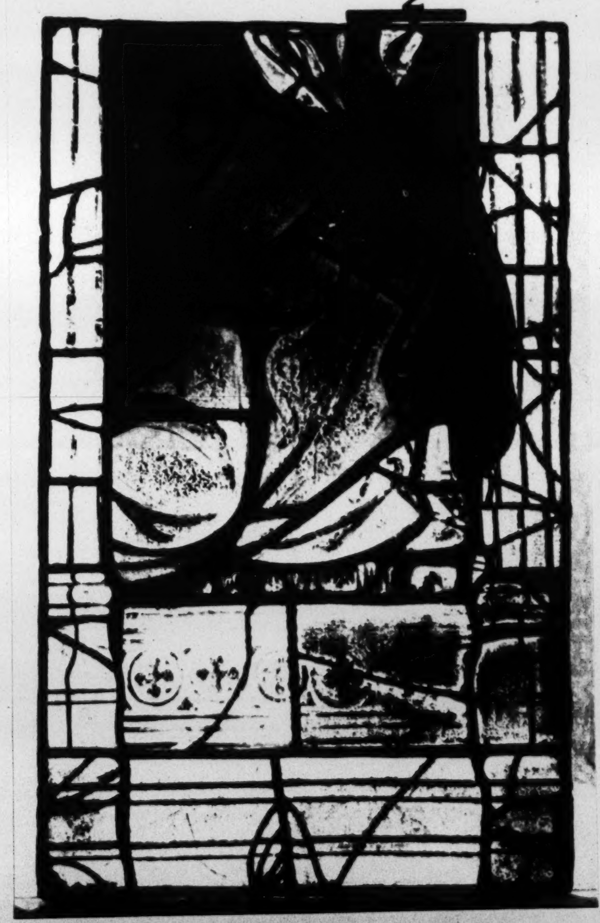


138a

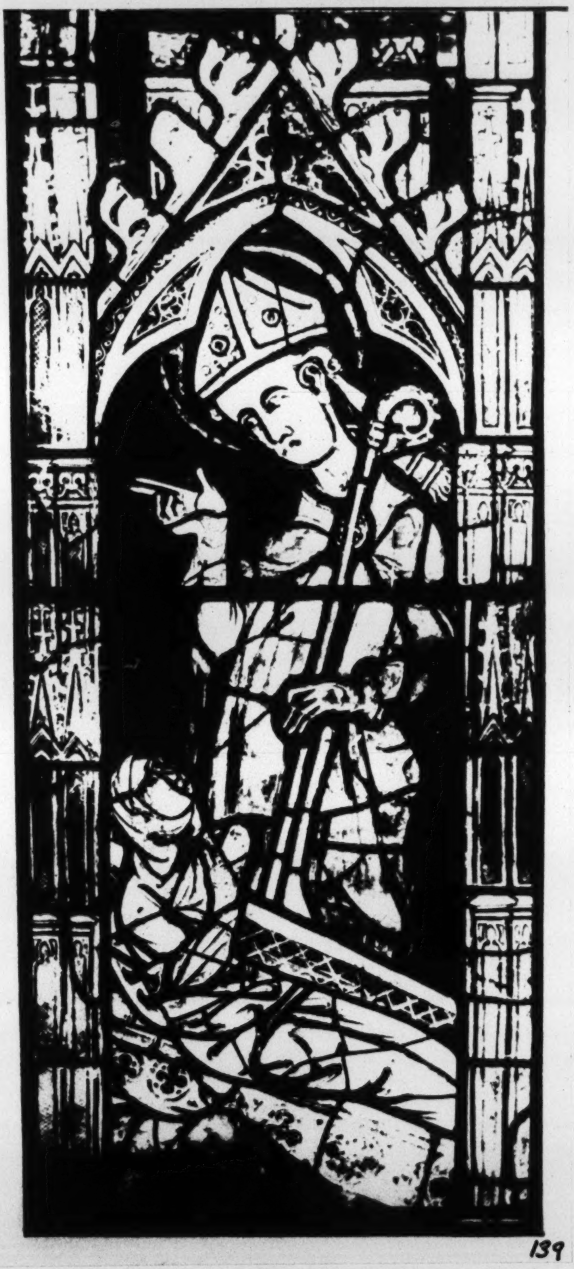
138
Evron: choir clerestory, details
(a) Above: Bay 112, left lancet bottom.
Note border.
(b) Bay 115, middle lancet, bottom.

Note drapery style (particularly at the end of the cascading robe) and the decoration of the base.

138b



591



139

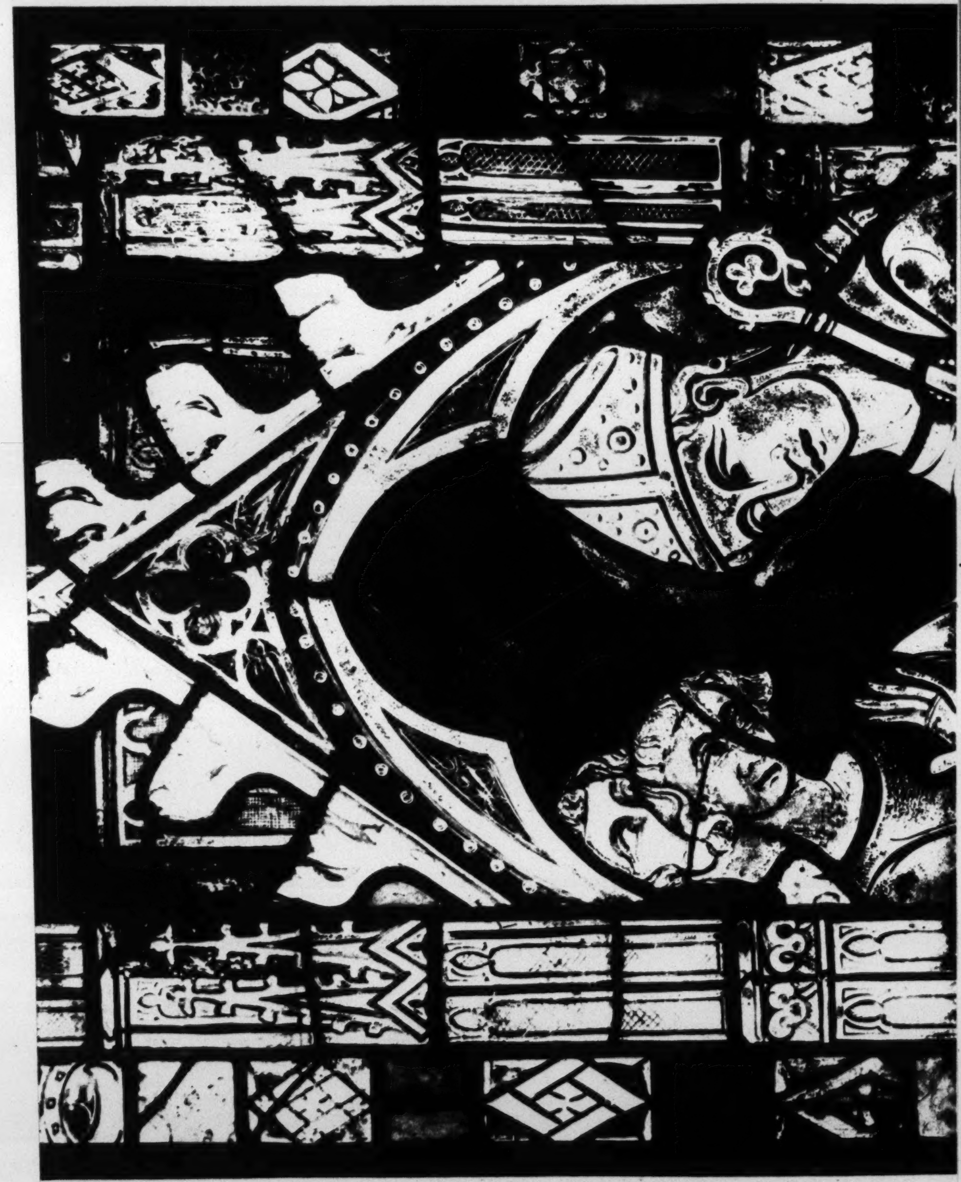
139

Roy Grosvenor Thomas, Stained Glass. Its Origin and Application, New York, privately printed, 1922, illustration opposite p. 4.

"English. circa 1350. In Private Possession."

Panel from Evron

592



140
Panel from Evron (Philadelphia Museum of Art)

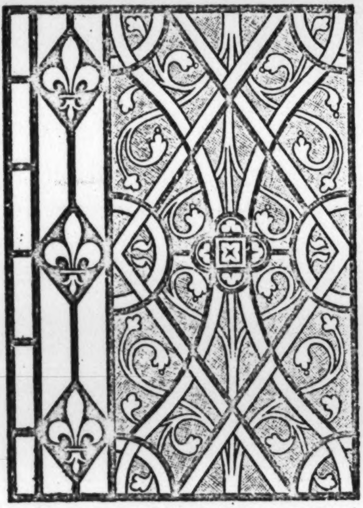
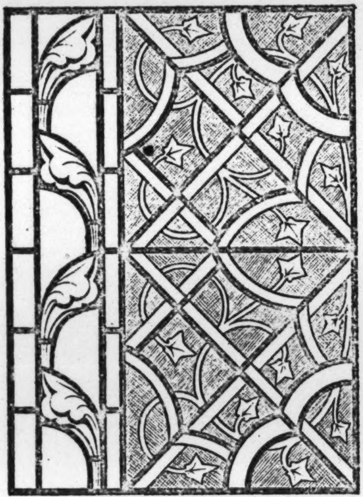


Fig. 16. — XIII^e siècle. Grisaille avec points de couleur. Saint-Germer. 38 c. sur 52 c.



L. Ottin del.

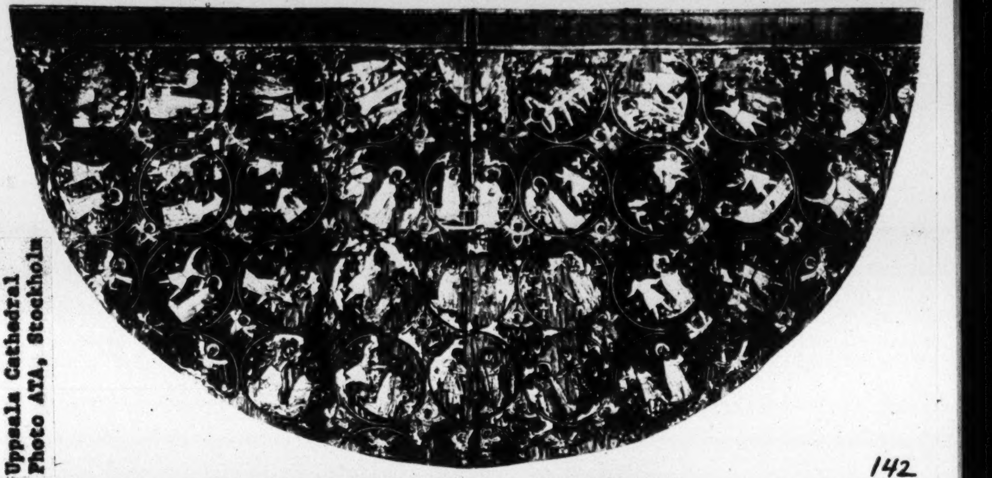
Fig. 17. — XIII^e siècle. Grisaille avec bordure. Saint-Germer. 38 c. sur 52 c.

141 a-b
Grisaille patterns from Saint-Germer
(from Ottin, p.23)

594

594

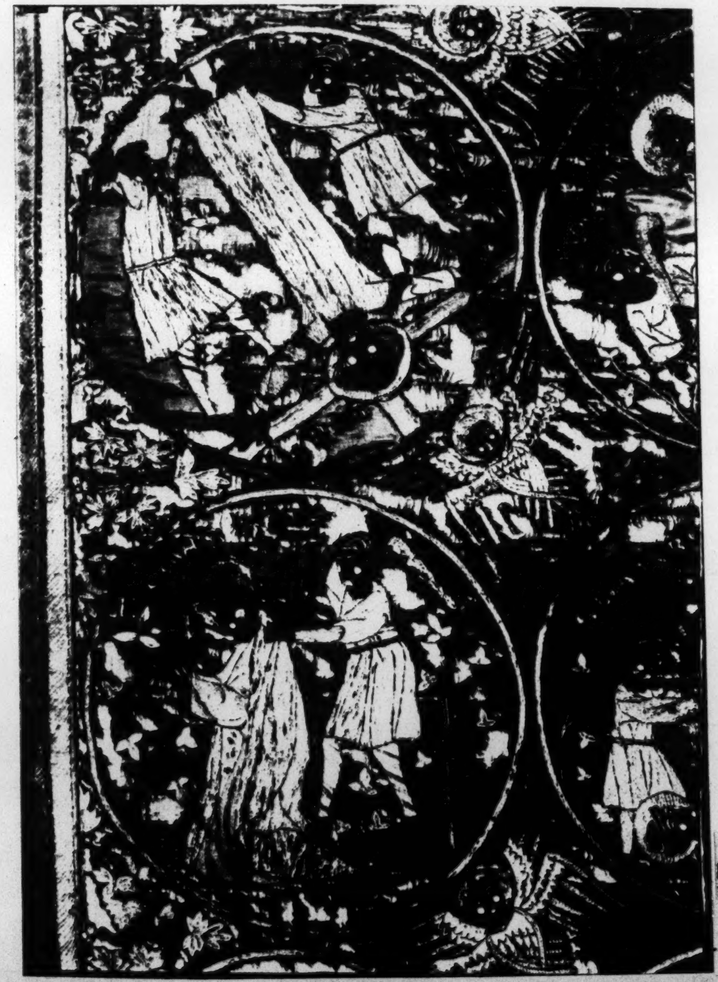
594



Uppsala Cathedral
Photo ATA, Stockholm

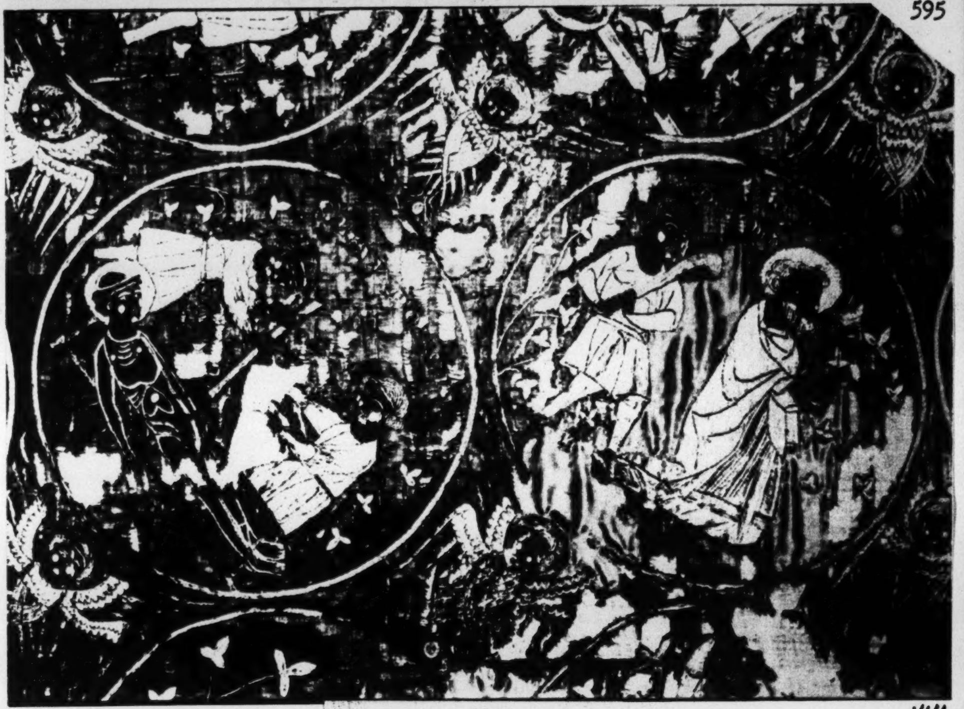
142

142
Uppsala cope



143
Martyrdom of St. Peter

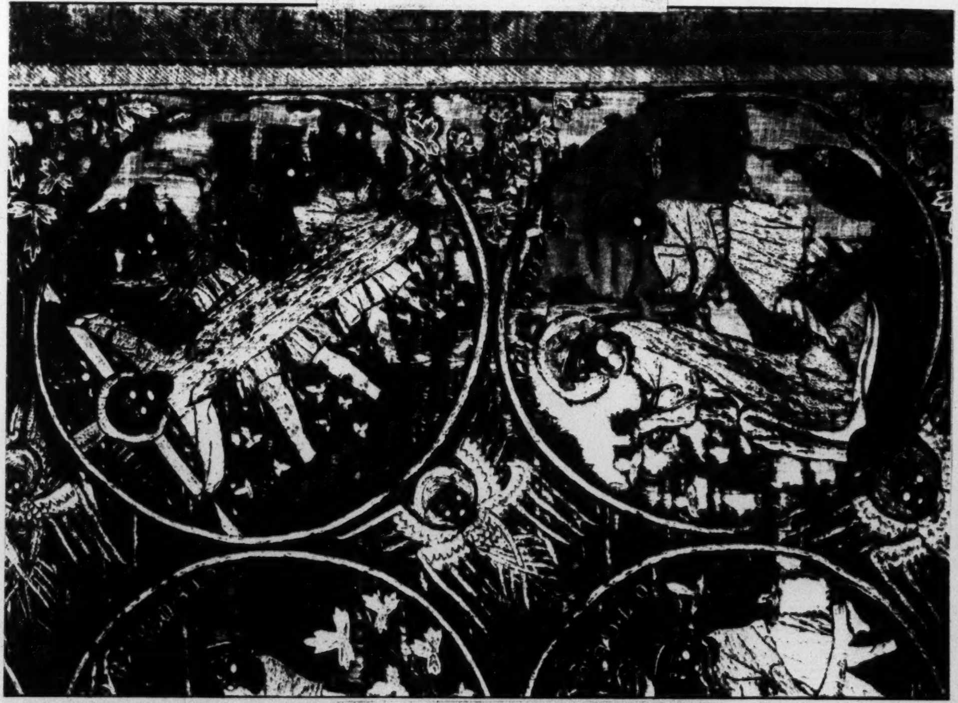
143



144

Martyrdom of St. Lawrence

144



145

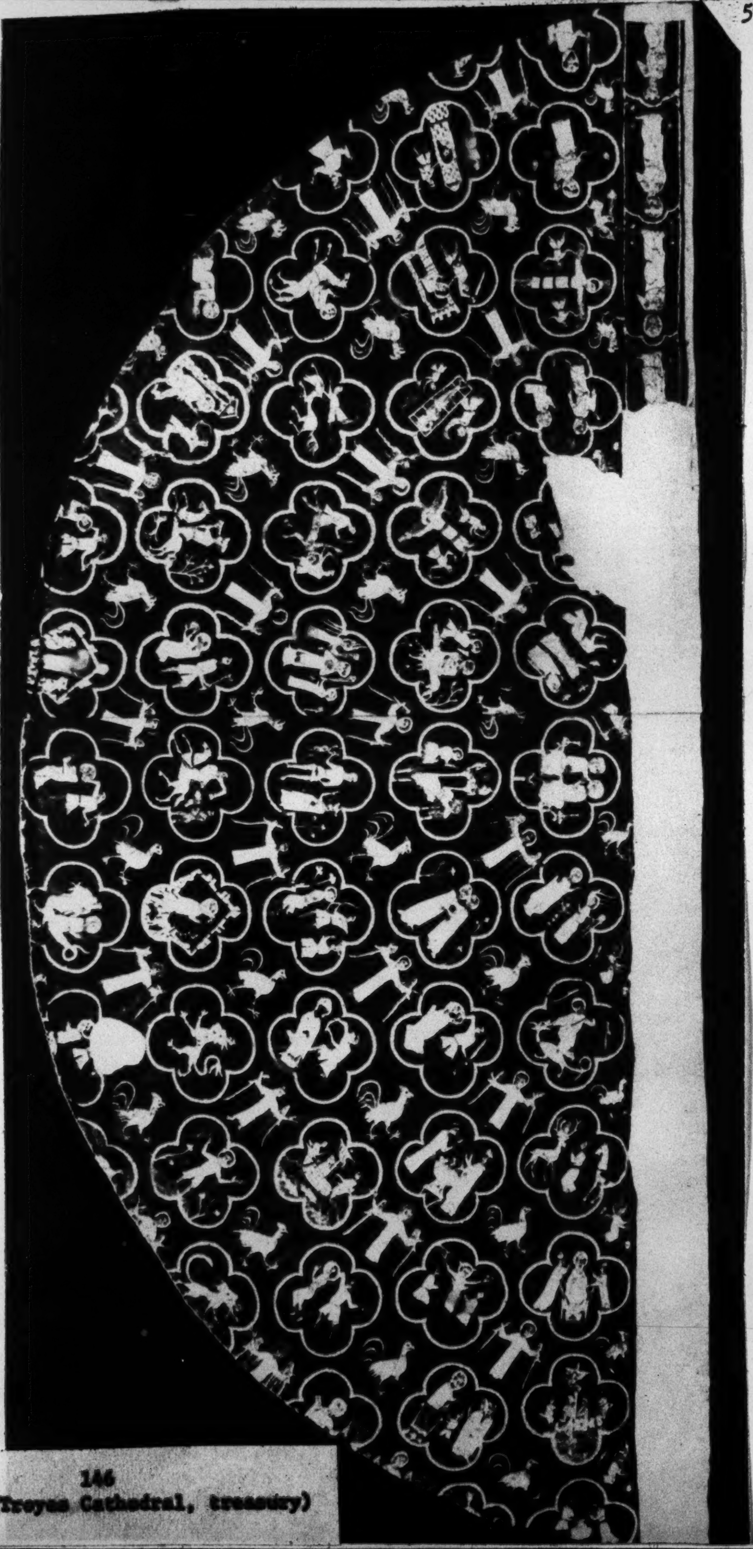
Martyrdom of St. Andrew

145

596

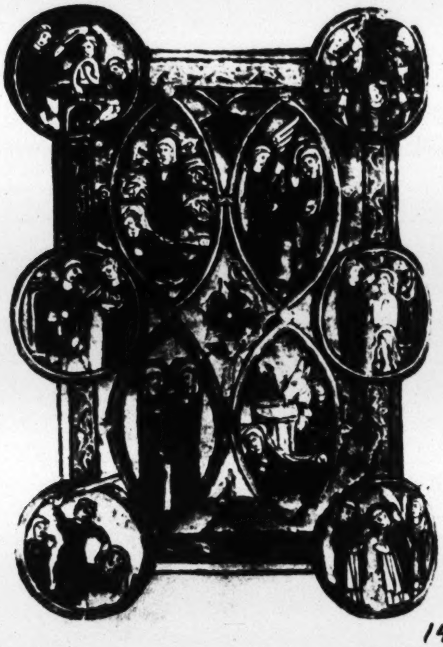
596

596



146
Cope (Troyes Cathedral, treasury)

Jesse Tree.



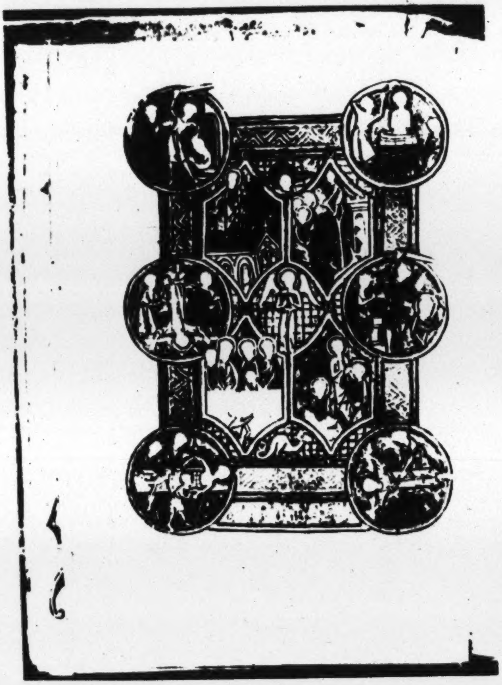
147

147
Psalter (Liège, Bibl. de l'Université
431, fol. 8v.)

054 4

New York:Lib.,Morgan,Pierpont, 183.
Psalter-Hours.

fol.12vo.



Psalm 1.

Burl.F.A.,Exhib.Mss., (1908),pl.84(125).

148

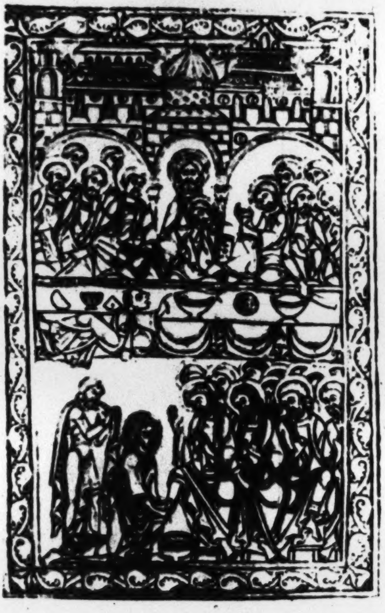
148
Psalter - Hours (Pierpont
Morgan 183, fol 12 v.)

599

fol.20ro.

London: Mus., British, Cott. Nero C.IV.
Psalter of S.Swithin's Priory.

035404



Psalms: Illustration.

Warner, G., Repr. Ill. Mss. (1910-28), III, pl.VII.

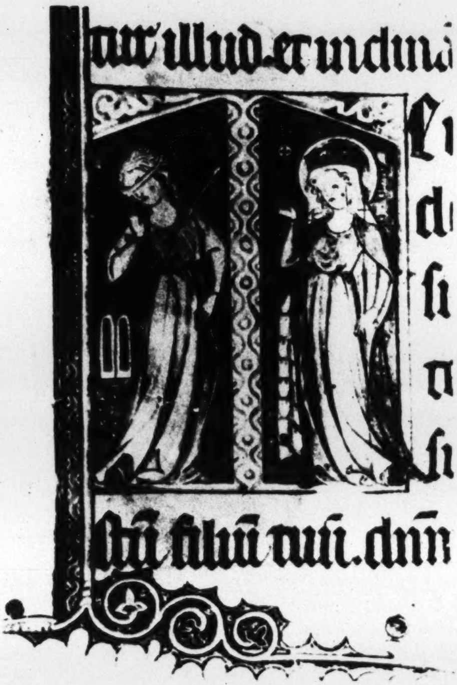
149

149
Psalter of St. Swithin's Priory
(Brit. Mus., Cott. Nero
C. IV, fol. 20 r.)

600

600

Personification:Church and Synagogue.
laporte,Y.,Mss.Bibl.Chartres (1929),pl.XIV.


tur illud et inclina
tuu filiu tuu. dnm

fol.189v°.

Chartres:Lib.,Bibl.Municipale,f.C.
Missal,Chartres.

150

150

150
Missal of use of Saint-Père, early 14th c.
Chartres, Bibl. Mun. 502, fol. 189v
Church and Synagogue